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A N E N Q U I R Y

W H E T H E R

A general Practice of V I R T U E tends to the
W E A L T H O R P O V E R T Y, B E N E F I T
O R D I S A D V A N T A G E of a *People*?

In which the Pleas offered by the Author of *the Fable of the Bees*, or private Vices publick Benefits, for the Usefulness of VICE and ROGUERY are considered.

With some Thoughts concerning a *Toleration* of
P U B L I C K S T E W S.

Hoc, de quo nunc agimus, id ipsum est, quod UTILE appellatur: in quo lapsa Consuetudo deflexit de via, sensimque eo deducta est, ut honestatem ab utilitate secernens, & constitueret honestum esse aliquid, quod utile non esset; & utile quod non honestum; qua nulla perniciēs major hominum vitæ potuit asferri. Tull. de Offic. L. 2. 3.

I would willingly ask in what Vice is profitable to *The Whole*? Not surely in Respect of heavenly Things, and such as are Divine by Nature: For it would be ridiculous [to say,] that were there not amongst Men, Malice, and Covetousness, and Lying, or that if we did not rob, plunder, slander and murder one another, the Sun would not run his appointed Course, nor the World enjoy its Seasons. It remains then that the Existence of Vice must be profitable for us and our Affairs,—[But] are we the more healthy for being vicious, or do we more abound with Necessaries? Or does Vice contribute any thing to our Beauty and Strength? *Plutarch, of common Notions against the Stoicks.* Eng. Transl. London 1704.

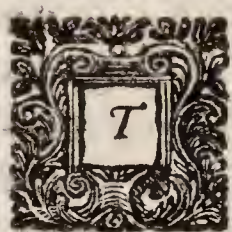
—What Difference is there between such Triflers and Ravers, and those who say, that Intemperance was not brought forth unprofitably for Continence, nor Injustice for Justice? That so we may pray to the Gods, there may be always Wickedness: *Ibid.*

L O N D O N:

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Paul's Church-Yard. 1725.



The P R E F A C E.



THE first Part of this Enquiry was drawn up at the Request of a Friend, who intended to write a general Discourse of the Grounds of Morality; and in that to consider the different Systems laid down in the Fable of the Bees and the Characteristicks: To shew in Opposition to the one, that the shocking Image the Author has drawn of Mankind, and the moral Virtues they have hitherto thought it their Perfection to practise, was monstrous and unnatural; and in answer to the other, that neither is Man of so refined a Frame, or intended to be so, as to practise Virtue merely for its own Sake, or, if she were represented in a human Shape (as Plato said of Wisdom) immediately to fall in love with her, and that to so romantick a Degree, as to obey her severest Precepts, merely for the Pleasure of surveying the Beauty of her Person: In short, to prove (what it seems the Perverseness of some among us make it necessary should be proved) that Men in themselves are neither Seraphims nor Devils.

In the doing this, he proposed to consider the Objections the Author of the Fable of the Bees had urged against the Practice of Virtue: And finding that the most popular one was the Disadvantage it is pretended the Publick would lye under from the Loss of that Variety of Employments which now depend upon Vice and Roguery; what he designed by this Request to his Friend, was to see in a plain and distinct View, in what manner Trade and Employments would really be affected by a strict and general Practice of moral Duties. Upon perusal of that Paper, the Gentleman was pleased to disengage himself from so much of his Design as related to the Fable of the Bees,

THE P R E F A C E.

and lay the Burthen of it upon one much inferior to himself in those Abilities that must have recommended such a Treatise to the Favour of the Publick.

This Paper is now swelled to almost the Compass of a Book. But the Reader must not expect from hence a particular Answer to every thing that deserves Censure in the Fable of the Bees. The most tolerable Part of his Performance is a borrowed Satyr upon the Follies and Vices of Mankind, which the Author either mistakes himself, or is pleased to put upon the World for a Description of human Nature, and an Essay upon the Passions. There are other Passages so very low and indecent, that common Modesty will scarce allow an Answer to them. Among others to this Purpose let the Reader turn to p. 118. where he is ridiculing the idle and extravagant Fears that ignorant and unexperienced People have upon them, from the Word Enervate. But for this I leave him to the Correction of his Brother Anodyne, and hope he will do him Justice in the next Edition of one of his late Pieces.

Such as his Book is, he says it has found its Patrons. But whether they are Persons either of the greatest Probity and Virtue, or the most unquestionable good Sense^a, the Reader will be apt to guess from the Judgment he shall form of the Book itself in both these Respects; when he sees of what kind the Principles are which are recommended in it, and in how consistent a manner they are defended.

But whatever Notion the World may entertain of this Gentleman's Abilities, it ought to be allowed that they are well enough proportioned to the Task he has undertaken. There needs no great Wit, and much less Logick, to recommend the Practice of Vice. Treatises of Impiety will subsist, and find Applause from their own intrinsick Value, without the Gloss of good Sense to set them off. What Occasion is there for any exact Talent of reasoning to con-

THE PREFACE.

vince young Fellows, that in the midst of their Debauchery they are promoting the publick Good? That the Magistrate neglects his Duty to them in not providing better for their Pleasures, by tolerating a sufficient Number of Temples of Venus, where without the Trouble and Pains of employing People to bawd for them, they may constantly offer up their Devotions? That if ever through a general Practice of Virtue, or the want of good Government, they should fall under so great a Misfortune as to find a Scarcity of English Whores, it is the proper Business of the Magistrate to lookout and procure a sufficient Number from foreign Parts? The Pupils such Lectures are designed for, carry Inclinations about with them, that will easily excuse the want of a good reasoning Head in their Tutor.

To those who are thoroughly acquainted with the Nature of Trade, and the real Source of a national Wealth, a great deal less would have been sufficient to shew the Mischiefs of Vice in general, and of Luxury in particular. But for the sake of others I have been forced to follow him thro' a tedious Repetition of the same thing in different Views.

The Account of his Opinions relating to the first Formation of Society, and the Origin of moral Virtues, is given with no other Design than to prevent the Tediousness which a separate Answer to all the Absurdities he has fallen into would occasion. Indeed such an Answer is the less necessary after what has been writ with so much Spirit and good Sense upon this Subject already ^b.

It is a Saying of the Duke of Rochefocault, 'That as wicked as Men are, they never dare to profess themselves Enemies to Virtue; and when they have a Mind to persecute it, they either pretend not to think it real, or forge some Faults and lay to its Charge ^c.' A Character,

^b Mr. Laro's Remarks.

^c No. 556 Paris Edit. 1692.

THE P R E F A C E.


which if the noble Frenchman drew for himself, is done with more Judgment than any thing in his Book. But perhaps the same Principle of SELF-LOVE, he had with so much Sagacity spied out in all the rest of Mankind, had shut his Eyes against this lively Representation of himself.

It is not impossible however but this might be laid down as a Model for the Observation of those who should write in the same Cause after him, and to point out just how far it was proper for them to go in their Attacks upon Virtue. This Model Mr. Esprit ^a has followed very closely, and so, in the main, has the Author of the Fable of the Bees: But by leaving out sometimes the Restrictions their Notions were guarded with, or inserting others of his own, which rather expose than extenuate the Guilt of them, upon the whole, he has much outdone the Original. It is not only that most things are not Virtue, which the World take for such, but the Thing itself, we are told, is ridiculous in Theory, and mischievous in Practice.


As to what relates to Charity Schools, I have not presumed to give Notice in the Title Page that I have said any thing in Defence of them. Those Gentlemen who are the greatest Admirers of the Fable of the Bees, would hardly vouchsafe to look into a Book, which they found could treat of so ungraceful a Subject, as the Teaching poor Children to read, giving them Cloaths, and binding them Apprentices.

^a La fausseté des Vertus humaines.

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und

C O N T E N T S.

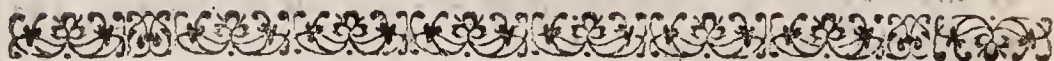
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E R R A T A.

Page 1. Line 9. for *People* read *separate Families*. p. 20. l. 21. read *Methods by which*. p. 94. l. 12. for *them*, read *thence*. p. 96. l. 12. read *the more Ingenious*. p. 179. l. 16. for *Persons* read *Parsons*.



A N
E N Q U I R Y,

Whether a General Practice of Virtue
tends to the *Wealth* or *Poverty* of a
People, &c.



THE different Parts of the Earth being
endued with different Properties, and
producing different Fruits for the Use
of Mankind; and Men being natu-
rally form'd with different Talents and
Dispositions, and acquiring different
Sorts of Skill in the Improvement of these; the Con-
veniency of Trade was found out as soon as there
were any People in the World. Trade is nothing but an
Exchange of Commodities, that is, of the Fruits of the
Earth, either natural, or improv'd by Skill and Labour.
Now Reason and Observation immediately taught them,
that tho' no one Part of the Earth produced the Fruits
of the whole, yet by Exchanging the Superfluities of

one Sort, for what they wanted of others, the Defect might in a good Measure be supply'd. Trade therefore is a Contrivance to extend (as much as possible) the particular Benefits that any one Person or one People enjoys, to all People; and in effect to make each Portion of the Earth produce what the whole Earth produces. But these Advantages were soon carried further than bare Necessity pointed out to them. They found that less than all the Product of the Earth, and less than all their Labour would supply them with Necessaries and Conveniencies, and therefore naturally thought of adding to them the Elegancies or Ornaments of Life. From hence it will appear,

First, That the Wealth of a Country consists in a Soil that produces the greatest Plenty of the Necessaries, Conveniencies and Ornaments of Living, or in the Returns of them by Trade. In order to enjoy which Advantages, the Community must have Hands enough to make the most of the natural Fruits of their Soil, to improve them by Skill and Labour, to secure Men in the Possession of them when they are obtain'd (with the Assistance of a mild Government) to exchange Commodities with one another, to furnish Foreigners with that Share of them that is not wanted at home, and to import in Exchange for them such of their Commodities as are wanted.

But Secondly, in forming a Comparison between the Wealth of one Country and that of another, we need only consider the Plenty of Ornaments there is in each; for the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life are common to almost all People alike; it being absurd to say that a People should subsist without Necessaries, and very unlikely that any Community of Men should pitch upon so small or so barren a Portion of the Earth for their Residence, as by the Help of their Labour would not supply them with all the Conveniencies of Life.

In this View therefore the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life should not be consider'd as a Part of National Wealth any otherwise than as a Superfluity of them will procure Ornaments in return for them from those Countries, where 'tis their Interest either to neglect their own Soil, or to work up the Product of it for foreign Trade, rather than Home Consumption. What is common then to all Countries alike being thrown out of the Account, publick Wealth may be said to consist in the greatest Plenty of Ornaments.

These Advantages, the Author of *The Fable of the Bees* thinks no Society can enjoy, where there is a General Practice of Virtue. The Substance of what he says to this Purpose, is this :

“ Since a Number of Men are employ'd and maintain'd by securing others in the Enjoyment of their Wealth or Property, which can only happen upon a Supposition of Wrong and Violence, all these must be left without Employment where there's an Universal Honesty. Therefore the Loss of this Labour is a Loss of Wealth to the Community, and the Maintenance of that vast Number of idle Hands, an unsupportable Charge and Burthen.

To judge of the Weight of this Objection, it must be consider'd, whether what is laid down in the first Position, be a true Account of National Wealth ; whether it consists only in the Fruits of the Soil improv'd by Skill and Labour, and the Returns of them by Trade. If the Affirmative be true, 'tis necessary only there should be Hands enough to make the most of these Advantages, that is, to manure the Earth for the better and more plentiful Production of its Fruits, to draw forth and gather these Fruits, to improve them by Skill and Labour, and to exchange the Superfluities of them for such other Commodities as are wanted. By the Help of these Hands then, the Society will be

as rich as *it can be*, and no sort of Labour that does not contribute to one of those Purposes, can add *at all* to their Wealth. For as to these Employments that are concern'd in the Security of Property, tho' they are necessary while Vice and Roguery subsist, yet they add no new Wealth to the Community; they only continue what is already got to the proper Owners. And as the Security of Possessions so gain'd gives Encouragement to Industry in the gaining them, 'tis upon that Account only that such Hands are instrumental in the Acquisition of National Wealth. But as these very Possessions would be much better secur'd by an Universal Honesty, so such an Honesty would be a much greater Encouragement to Industry, and consequently in a greater Degree contribute to the National Wealth. But this is carrying the Benefit of Universal Honesty further than is necessary in Answer to the Objection. 'Tis sufficient, at present, if it appears, that an entire Absence of Roguery, by which 'tis pretended so many Hands would be left idle, could not at all take off from the National Wealth.

It will be ask'd in Consequence of the second Part of the Argument, how these Men left without Employment can be maintained?

It has been prov'd already, that this Change in their Morals would not lessen the Wealth or Property of a People, and consequently there would be the *same* Fund of Provisions for the Maintenance of the *same* Number of People. We will allow then that such as are thus deprived of their Employments, have a Right to a Maintenance some way or other, and that the Society is under an Obligation to employ them, or (what comes to the same Thing), to maintain them unemployed.

It must be consider'd, that as every Man is oblig'd to be at some Expence, in fencing himself and his Property against Violence and Wrong, so this Expence would

would be entirely saved by a General Practice of Virtue ; and the Savings of this Expence throughout the Community would be a Fund for the Maintenance of such as by this Means are grown useless. This every one would chearfully contribute to the Payment of, on account of the compleat Security he has of enjoying the Remainder without Fear or Hazard.

Indeed in the present Situation of Affairs Idleness has a Tendency to Vice ; but the Objection supposes an entire Absence of Vice. The Question here is not whether *Idleness* promotes *Vice*, but whether *Virtue* begets *Poverty*. It will be the same thing therefore to the Community, whether these Hands are employ'd in useless Labour, or maintain'd unemployed ; for bare Employment is of no Use to the Publick, nor is it possible it should be.

I have known an Overseer of the Poor in the Country, when a lusty Fellow has complain'd to him of his want of Work, employ him for a whole Day together in turning a Grindstone, tho' nothing was all that while ground upon it. I believe it won't be said that the Parish was the richer for the Fellow's Labour ; or that they might not as cheaply have paid him for sitting at home, or observing the Shapes of the Clouds. The Overseer however judg'd right ; the Fellow grew ashamed of so senseless a Task, and soon found out a better Employment himself.

That somewhat like this would be the Case of the whole Community, is the next thing we shall endeavour to prove ; that is, that all or great Numbers of those we have hitherto supposed would be useless from the want of their present Employment in providing against Roguery, would find other Employments : And as all the Skill and Labour exercis'd in these, would be just so much Addition to the publick Wealth ; so it must be put to the Account of this Universal Honesty,
that

that is, it will be a Proof that such Universal Honesty not only does not occasion any *Poverty*, but would greatly encrease a National *Wealth*.

In the first Place, there never was yet that Country in the World, where every Part of the Soil was so compleatly improv'd as not to be capable of much further Improvement. This of it self would employ vast Numbers, and all such further Improvement of the Soil would be an additional Wealth.

2dly, If Wealth consists in a Plenty of Ornaments, whatever adds to these is an Addition to Wealth. Now the Skill and Labour that might be employ'd in the Improvement of Commodities, or in adding to the Elegancies of Life, is almost infinite. The Arts of Painting, Carving, Gilding, &c. might take up the Time, and supply Labour to all such as are now employ'd in Bolts, Locks and Fences. Such as are employ'd in teaching others their Duty, or pleading for their Rights, would, by their superior Skill and Understanding, be the Men of Wealth, and live in Elegance and Grandeur themselves, or in some Condition or other, contribute to those Advantages in their Neighbours.

There could be no Want of Employment then, supposing this great Change to be ever so sudden, and that a Miracle intervened to effect it at once. But this is setting the present Question in a very improper Light. When this is apply'd to Practice, and address'd to the Magistrate^a, as a Rule to direct him in the Government of a Society, the Change must necessarily be supposed to be *gradual*; and then it will appear still plainer that there would necessarily arise a Succession of new Trades, or a greater Number of the present

^a In *Answer to the Presentment of the Grand Jury*, he says, The Matter complain'd of (the Fable of the Bees) is manifestly address'd to Magistrates and Politicians, p. 469. N. B. The last Edition is all along refer'd to.

Trades that contribute to the ornamental Parts of Life, in Proportion as the Trades in providing against Roguery grew useless and wore off.

All the Consequences of an Universal Honesty will best appear from the following Case.

Suppose a Man possess'd of a large Flock of Sheep, who is oblig'd to be at a great Expence in making his Fences very strong, and in maintaining a Number of Shepherds to preserve them against the Wolves that abound in his Neighbourhood. Afterwards by the Care and Skill of the Government, or the Assistance of his Neighbours, the Wolves are all destroyed. Would the Countryman complain that by this Means his Servants were left without Employment? Or if he should, would not he be told, that his Expence, and not his Income, was lessen'd? Or if he was still oblig'd to maintain the *same* Servants, that they would contribute to his Profit by an Improvement of other Parts of his Farm; or if there was no Room for that, to his Conveniency and Grandeur, by adorning his House and Gardens; or by a better Attendance upon himself and Family? The worst that could happen from their Want of Employment being only that some of his Shepherds would be turned into Footmen, and wait at their Master's Table, instead of watching his Flocks. In short, 'till his Acres grew fewer, or his Crops less plentiful, no one ill Consequence could follow from the Change.

Rogues and Plunderers are the *Wolves* of humane Society; and that People, as well as private Family, would be the most happy and wealthy, where the Employment for Fence-makers, Guards and Watchmen, and the *Occasion* for them were entirely at an End.

If it be objected that such a Morality would destroy a Part of Foreign Trade, because such as are now employed in building, exporting, &c. Ships of War, Ammunitions and other warlike Stores, which are occasi-
on'd

on'd by Injustice and Oppression, would then have nothing to do ; I answer, that warlike Stores, &c. being the Fences against the Plunder of other Societies, as Bolts, Locks and Barrs are against the Robberies of private Men, if such a Morality is suppos'd to be confin'd to one Nation, other Countries will still have Occasion for those Commodities ; but supposing it Universal, their Commerce in the Ornaments of Life would be the greater, as their Demand for Provisions against those Mischiefs grew less.

To illustrate yet further, what has hitherto been said by another Instance that comes likewise within the Author's Scheme ^b.

Put the Case that by another Miracle the Use of Physick were to cease (as most of it, the learned Author thinks, would cease with common Roguery ^c, whilst a good Part of the Remainder would be left to subsist upon Folly) suppose all People were to enjoy a perfect State of Health 'till they died (for Sicknefs is a natural Evil, as Roguery is a moral one) Would any one scruple to pay Physicians as much to sit still, as he pays them at present for Advice and Physick, in Consideration of such a Blessing? Or wou'd the Publick suffer by their Idleness, or that of the Tradesmen dependant upon them? If the Evils themselves cease at the same Time that the Provisions against them are remov'd, 'tis impossible any Loss or Inconvenience shou'd happen from the Alteration. If the Want of Employment be in it self a Grievance, let it be remembered, that tho' the universal Medicine would be worth very little, yet a large Field of Labour would

^b P. 428. Evil moral as well as natural, is the solid Basis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments, without Exception.

^c P. 5, & 15.

still remain behind in squaring the Circle, finding out the Philosopher's Stone, or a perpetual Motion.

In the Instance now mention'd, 'tis certain, that a small Part of our Foreign, as well as Inland Trade, would be destroy'd. 'Twill be the same Thing in any more considerable Branch. As there would be no Occasion for the Importation of Drugs, it will be ask'd how that Quantity of our Goods, which is now exported in Exchange for them, can be dispos'd of? To suppose then the worst that could *possibly* happen, and that there is no other Vent for them, let there be as much Skill and Labour employ'd in working them up as there is now, and when they are ready for Exportation, either let them be destroy'd here, or shipped off immediately, and thrown over Board. *Goods burnt and sunk* [says the Author, in favour of Storms, Shipwrecks, &c.^e] *are as beneficial to the Poor, as if they had safely arrived at their several Ports*; which then will appear more demonstrably true in the present Case, as the Substance of the Exporter or Employer of the Poor is not lessen'd by such an Accident. It will be ask'd, Who then shall pay for the Materials and Workmanship of them? The Property of those People whose Want of Drugs or Physick ceases, is increas'd by this means; or, which is the same Thing, their necessary Expences are lessen'd. These People wou'd think the Blessing of Health cheaply purchas'd at so small a Price; or as the Case is general, let the Publick pay it, and raise it upon the People in what Proportion they please. 'Tis plain, the whole Community would be as able to pay it as they are *now*, since no Part of their Wealth is lessen'd by the Change. Their natural Soil would be the same, while more Hands might be employ'd in making the utmost Advantages of it.

It would be too tedious to pursue this Observation thro' the several Branches of Trade that are now employ'd in providing against Vice and Roguery; but I believe enough has been said to convince the intelligent Reader, that the same Way of Reasoning will hold good universally in other Instances.

The Author makes Sicknefs, and such other *natural Evils*, a Part of the *solid Basis, the Life and Support of Trades and Employments* ^f, as much as *Moral* ones. In the same Manner the Inundations and Incroachments of the Sea, that some Countries are particularly liable to, are publick Benefits in that Country, as much as the Plunder and Incroachment of Rogues and Villains; for as many Hands may be employ'd in providing against those Natural Evils, as against Moral ones. What a vast Expence are the *Dutch* at every Year, in repairing their Dikes? Now according to him, a Project for saving this Expence ought to be lookt upon as a Plot against the Wealth and Safety of their Country, as it would certainly deprive a vast Number of Men of their present Employment. But if a rational feasible Project for this Purpose should meet with such a Reception, *the wise Rulers of that well-order'd Commonwealth* ^g would, in the Opinion of some People, forfeit a Share of their Reputation for good Policy. Suppose yet further, that such Hands were depriv'd of their present Employment ever so suddenly, that Providence shou'd in one Night's time raise Barriers against the Sea, that were to last as long as the World it self, in all Probability, these *wise Rulers* would not consider such a Miracle as a National Misfortune, but would find out ways enough to employ those Hands who now work in their Dikes, especially when, as the Author

^f P. 428. ^g P. 95.

tells you, in some of their Provinces there's *Abundance of Ground lying waste* for want of Improvement ^h.

This Absurdity runs thro' his Book. *Evil moral as well as natural is the solid Basis, &c.* Not only all sorts of Vice and Roguery, *but the Necessities and Imperfections of Man, the various Inclemencies of Air and other Elements, the Treachery of Water, the Rage of Fire, the Sterility of the Earth, Sickness and Disasters of all sorts; in short, all such Evils as the World call Misfortunes, come into his Account of Publick Benefits. The Gifts and Munificence of Heaven, and all the Bounties and Benefits of Nature, by saving a World of Labour and Pains, make us poor. But the Inclemencies of Air and other Elements, Badness of Seasons, the Stubbornness and Sterility of the Earth, are the great Source of Trades, and consequently of Wealth: They rack our Invention, and so make us rich. The Loss of Limbs are vastly useful to a Society, or else there could have been no room for the Invention of wooden Legs, or the Practice of Surgery. If all People had their Sight in Perfection, the World had never had the Benefit of the curious Workmanship of Glass-eyes; and I take it upon me to prove, that if none were to walk upon their Feet, there would be more Stilts and Crutches in the Nation than there are now: And the greater Variety there is of Wants, the larger Number of Individuals may find their private Interest in supplying themⁱ. The finding out the Longitude, for Instance, is one of the most impertinent mischievous Attempts that has hitherto employ'd the Care or Skill of Mankind. Instead of offering Rewards for it, every good Subject ought to beseech Providence to blast any traiterous Endeavours towards it, and to avert so heavy a Calamity as the Prevention of Shipwrecks would bring upon*

us. If the Reader would see more of the same Strain of Politicks, let him read from Page 414 to 428, particularly 424 and 425, and the Vindication of them at the End ^k.

Upon the Whole, a People in the Circumstances *the Author* has represented his reform'd Hive ^l, that is, without any Vice or Roguery among them, would be wealthier than otherwise, as enjoying at least as many of the Necessaries and Conveniencies, and more of the Ornaments of Life; or in other Words, their Income would be at least as much, and their necessary Expences less. Whatever Complaints he may think fit to make, that Smiths, &c. ^m would starve, if there were no Roguery going forward, every Man would contribute to maintain those Engineers, not only in Idleness, but in Plenty and Affluence, provided he could be secure from the least Apprehension of Violence and Wrong of any kind; at least every Man *would*, that did not hope to thrive upon a general Plunder, to make himself Amends for the Injuries he received from some, by his greater Oppression of others. Besides, nothing can be so great an Encouragement to Industry, which is the Life of Trade, as a *Security*, that what a Man gets can never be wrested from him.

This Security is the chief End of Government; and if that particular Form of Government is the best calculated to promote the Trade and Wealth of a Country, and that People are the most happy, where the Properties of private Men are not liable to the Encroachments of arbitrary Rulers: *That* Form of Government, which could effectually secure Men from

^k See likewise the Index under the Word Blessings, the Place refer'd to (*it seems*) is to prove Blessings prejudicial.

^l P. 13. ^m P. 82.

the Injustice and Wrongs of one another, should, one would think, be still more perfect. For the Tyranny of a Prince affects People in a more remote Degree than Robbery, Violence and Plunder among themselves. By such Practices they are thrown back into a State of Nature, which is much worse than a very bad Government. A Prince would do his People less Mischief if he oppress'd them *himself*, and prevented their oppressing *one another*, than if, by an indolent Behaviour and Remissness of Government (tho' he refrain'd from all Violence himself) he allow'd every Man to injure his Neighbour as he pleased. And yet a Statesman, who could fix this happy Model of Government, according to him, ought to be deemed an arrant Traitor to his Country, by rendring so many Smiths and Watchmen usefess. The Author must not think to explain away the Badness or Absurdity of his Opinions, by saying, that such a Form of Government is *impossible*; that *to live*

Without great Vices, is a vain

Eutopia seated in the Brain;

an Excuse he seems to be laying in for in the *Moral*, as he calls it ⁿ. For wherever the Scheme was first *seated*, 'tis at present in *the Fable of the Bees*. He supposes *the Fact*, and then undertakes to shew you the Mischiefs of it. 'Tis only to disguise his main Design, that he employs his ingenious Raillery in ridiculing *Fools*, who *only strive*

To make a great an honest Hive,

that is, for endeavouring at what is *impossible* to obtain. His real Sentiments appear, when he calls *the grumbling Hive* Rogues and Fools, for having by their impertinent Prayers procur'd *in Fact* such a State and

Condition, and consequently such Ruin and Poverty.
The *Knaves* are actually *turned honest* °, a Curse which
the great and good Gods sent them in their Venge-
ance as the greatest they could inflict,

— *All the Rogues cry'd brazenly,*
Good Gods, had we but Honesty!
Merc'ry *smil'd at the Impudence,*
And others call'd it Want of Sense;

(tho' by the way, *Mercury* acts a little out of Cha-
racter here; he might with a better Grace have laugh'd
at their want of Sense, than their want of Modesty
or Honesty, Qualities he was not very remarkable for
himself) *but Jove mov'd with Indignation, at last swore*
in Anger ^p,

————— He'd rid
The bawling Hive of Fraud; AND DID.
The very Moment it departs,
And Honesty fills all their Hearts.

The Bees themselves immediately grew sensible of their
ugly Transformation from Knavery to Honesty,

— *In Silence they confess,*
By blushing at their Uglinefs.

Then comes the dreadful Account of Ruin and De-
solation this Monster Honesty brought with it;

But, oh you Gods! What Consternation,
How vast and sudden was th' Alteration!
In half an Hour the Nation round
Meat fell a penny in the Pound, &c. ^q

Till at last, finding themselves poor,

————— *To avoid Extravagance*
They flew into a hollow Tree,
Blest with Content and Honesty ^r.

° The Title of the Fable itself is *The Grumbling Hive, or, Knaves turn'd honest.*

^p P. 13.

^q P. 13. ^r P. 22.

As this is an Excuse which the Author has very often Recourse to, I shall be oblig'd to take notice of it again in the Course of this Enquiry.

If what has been said be a true Account of national Wealth; if it consists wholly in the Product of the Soil improv'd by Skill and Labour, and the Returns of it by Trade, it will help us to discover another Mistake that some among us have run into; which is, that all Inventions to save Labour and Trouble, by the Help of which one Man may do the same Work in one Day, that would otherwise employ several Men for several Days, are prejudicial to the Publick. For whatever Labour is employ'd for other Purposes than the drawing out, improving, &c. the Product of the Soil, is utterly useless to the Publick; and consequently, if by the Help of new Inventions any piece of Work that now requires *two* Men, can be done in the same Time by *one* Man, all that Labour so sav'd would be so much real Gain to the Publick, as long as there is any room for the further Improvement of their Soil, or beautifying the Product of it, or extending their Commerce.

Tho' such an Universal Morality, as has been all along suppos'd, be impossible in Fact, without the Intervention of a *Miracle* (which one would wonder *the Author of the Fable* should have Recourse to for the Foundation of his Scheme) yet what has been said will hold equally true as to any less Improvement in Virtue, that the Care and Skill of the Magistrate can bring about; and 'tis in this *practical* View only that his Notions are of any Consequence to the World, or deserve to be consider'd.

It will be hard to guess, what Design *the Author* could have in publishing this System of Politicks. Has there been such a quick and sudden Progress in Morality

lity of late Years here in *England*, as to occasion the starving great Numbers of People who were before employ'd in fencing against Roguery? For he tells you ENGLAND is the Country his *Hive* is intended to represent^s. There are a great many thousand Acres of incultivated Land, which, at the Expence of Labour, would bring a large Accession of Wealth to the Kingdom; many Rivers might be made navigable, neglected Branches of Trade encourag'd to publick Advantage, and our publick Roads be kept in a much better Order. These are but a few Instances that might be named, wherein the Labour of many thousands, according to his own Assertion^t, might be usefully employed.

Tho' the Magistrate were to set about the Work of Reformation ever so heartily, I am afraid the Progress he could make, would not be so great as to enable him to make Draughts from such as are now employed in defending us against Roguery, large enough to supply these great Occasions; even tho' no new Trades were to arise, nor the Number of the present ones to encrease, that make for the ornamental Parts of Life, to afford Labour for such as would grow useless by a general Practice of Honesty. And yet till all this happens, and the Society is found to groan under the Weight and Misery of Virtue, one would think there should be no Occasion for such Lessons of Immorality. Has there been any insolent Attempt set on Foot to abridge Mankind of their natural Liberty of practising Vice and Wickedness, or to make Virtue and Religion fashionable among us? Can he, among the numberless Projects that have of late Years been

^s Preface, p. 4.

^t P. 364. There is above three or four hundred Years Work for a hundred thousand Poor, more than we have in this Island.

offer'd for the Good of this Nation; tell us of any Schemes calculated to make the present or the future Age more honest or virtuous than former ones? I can think of but one, out of a great many that might be named to the contrary, I mean that of *Charity-Schools*: And 'tis greatly to the Honour of the Persons concerned in promoting these Seminaries of Virtue, that the same Book which attempts to prove *the more wicked and vicious Mankind are*, the better Subjects they are, *and the more useful Members of a Commonwealth*, should have in it a Treatise against those Charities. The Author might very well have changed Titles, and have called *the Fable* it self *an Argument against Charity-Schools*. For if *private Vices* are *publick Benefits*, 'tis a much better Argument against them, than any he has urged. But this will be considered more at large hereafter.

His Comparison of Wickedness in a Society to the Dirt of the Streets in *London* ⁿ, is nothing to his Purpose. The only way of reasoning that will hold here, is to say, that as the Wealth and Trade of the City of *London* produce some *Dirt* in the Streets, so will the Wealth of the Society produce some *Vice* and Wickedness in the People; which (if it proves any thing) is not an Argument for the *Usefulness* of *Vice*, but rather shews the *Inconvenience* of *Wealth*. To say, as the Dirt of the Streets is the *Effect* of the Wealth of the City, so *Vice* or Wickedness is the *Cause* of the Wealth of a Society, is a sort of Logick peculiar to himself.

This Comparison then is against him. For as a Project for the better cleansing the Streets would not, I presume, be lookt upon by the Inhabitants, as a Plot

See the Preface from p. 9. to p. 11. and p. 471,

against the Trade and Wealth of the City: So the Extirpation of Vice in a Society would as little tend to the lessening the publick Wealth or Happiness; even tho' each could be so effectual, as that *the Blackguard and the Scavengers* in the *one* Case ^w, and Smiths ^x and Watchmen in the *other*, should be oblig'd to quit their present Employments, and the Expence of both be entirely saved.

But the Author thinks, however it might fare with lesser Communities, that *no Society can be raised into a rich and mighty Kingdom, or so raised subsist in their Wealth or Power for any considerable Time, without the Vices of Man* ^y. Now this Distinction he himself has effectually destroyed elsewhere. For if *what we call Evil in this World*, (the Expression looks as if he differ'd from the rest of the World in his Opinion of it) *moral as well as natural, is the grand Principle that makes us sociable Creatures, the solid Basis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception, that the Moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled, if not totally dissolved* ^z, it will follow, that Evil is essential to the Being of Society, to lesser ones as well as greater. But to consider his Argument as it stands here.

As to the First Part of it, it will be readily allowed him, that History furnishes very few Instances of any wide Extent of Dominion, that was not *at first* procur'd by Methods very inconsistent with Virtue and Morality. The Conduct of an *Alexander* at the Head of his Army can as little be justified, as that of *Carzouche* and his Gang. But then the utmost he can make of his Argument, will be this, that a Man cannot raise so large an Estate by being content with his

^w Preface, p. 11.

^y P. 83. ^y P. 225. ^z P. 428.

own, as if he plunder'd his Neighbours, and had sufficient Power to back him in his Outrage, and that such Plunder can't happen without the Assistance of Vice and Roguery. In short, that it is impossible to be a mighty Robber, without being somewhat dishonest; a Discovery in which *Hamlet* has been beforehand with him ².

If he could have prov'd indeed that no body was the poorer for this *plunder'd Wealth*, it would have been a Secret worth communicating to the World; a Secret of great Use to justify the Conduct of Ministers of State.

But with regard to whole Societies he has yet a much harder Task. For besides the proving that no other Prince is the poorer for these plunder'd Territories, he must shew, before he can make the least Use of it, that a wide Extent of Dominion is necessary to the Wealth and Happiness of the People. And as to that, it must be consider'd, that the Happiness of a Community, is nothing but the Happiness of the private Individuals who compose it. To say, that a Community may be happy, where the private Individuals are unhappy, is to say, that an Army may be well cloathed, though every single Man in every Regiment were forc'd to go naked. 'Tis highly absurd to call a Nation happy and flourishing, only because it makes a Figure abroad, and is a Terrour to its Neighbours. For the greatest Power and Force that ever any Nation has possess'd, either to defend themselves, or to offend their Neighbours, has been of no real Use, but as they tended to make each Individual happy in his *private Life*, by securing to him the free and quiet Enjoyment of his own. If we are to judge by this Test, of the Use that new Acquisitions of Territories are to a Society,

² *There's ne'er a Villain dwelling in all Denmark, but he's an arrant Knave.*
Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

they will be far from serving the Purposes of the Author. Are private Men the more happy or the more wealthy, because their Sovereign has the Glory to be a Conqueror? It is not the Grandeur of the Prince, that makes the People happy; nor the Extent of his Dominions, that makes them rich. New Provinces may be bought or added every Year, and yet the Estates of private Men be not at all enlarg'd by it. If one Part of a Prince's Dominions grow the richer for any Addition to them, it can only happen by draining the Wealth from other Parts. All Ages and Countries will afford Examples enough of this Truth. But to avoid giving Offence, I would choose to put the Reader in Mind of what has happen'd elsewhere, rather than of what *Englishmen* may be suppos'd to be more immediately concern'd in.

But when a mighty Kingdom is so rais'd, it is by no means true, that it can't subsist in its Wealth or Power, without the Assistance of *Vice*. I expect it will be said that Power must be supported by the Methods 'twas procur'd; but besides that this has no relation to *private Vices*, (no more indeed has the whole Objection) it can only be true as to the first *Conquerors themselves*, and will cease afterwards, when a long Possession, and a continued Submission to the *Successors*, have repair'd the want of Justice in the Title of the *Conqueror*. This, 'tis probable, has been the Case some time or other of every Kingdom in the World. When this Right is once acquir'd, Virtue and Morality don't exact a tame Submission to Injuries and Invasions from abroad, nor stand in the way to any publick Benefit or Happiness at home. Enough has been said to prove the Truth of the one already; and as to the *other*, Courage and a Love of Liberty have never yet been reckon'd among the Number of Vices^b.

^b See p. 21. of the Fable from these Words, So few in the vast Hive, &c.

S E C T. II.

FROM what has been said, I presume we may safely infer, that a *Society* can never grow rich and flourish from such *unsocial* Practices, as Fraud, Plunder and Rapine. The Author himself allows, *that Man was not design'd by Nature for Rapine^c*; and again^d, *Man is naturally not rapacious, loves Peace and Quiet, &c.* So evident a Truth he might have prov'd, if he had pleas'd by better Reasons, than his Unlikeness in Shape and outward Make to common Beasts^e; and yet even this is such a Compliment to humane Nature, as he would not have been guilty of, but at the Expense of some other Virtue, which he thought inconsistent with *this quiet and peaceable Disposition*, and of which he had Occasion just then to deprive Mankind. What I mean, is *Courage^f*.

It would not be fair to conceal from the Reader, that when the Author has made his own Use of this Compliment to them, he endeavours immediately to explain it away again. What he said last, *must only be understood of Man in his SAVAGE State; when he becomes a Member of Society, he grows quite another Creature.* What he said last, was, that *Man from the Make of his Jaws, the Evenness of his Teeth, the Breadth of his Nails, and the Slightness of both, could not be design'd by Nature for Rapine*, and therefore is a *timorous Animal*; and now he tells you, *this must only be understood of him in his savage State.* As soon as the *cunning* Animal is roused from his natural *Innocence and Stupidity^g*, he acquires or discovers Qualities, that, if *let alone*, he tells you, would make him the most hurtful and noxious Creature in the World. In his *Savage State* he is *innocent, quiet and peaceable*; but as soon as he grows *social*, you must take Care of him,

^c P. 226. l. 12. ^d P. 401. l. 7. ^e P. 226. l. 7.

^f See Remark R. to p. 226. ^g P. 226.

or he will grow the most *ravenous* Beast in the World. He should have added, that his *Jaws* strengthen and extend themselves, and his *Teeth* and *Nails* grow fit for Prey. Here then is room for the Politicians Skill. *The first Care of all Governments*, he says, is to curb or overcome these Qualities, which just before he said *Society* (which, in his own Account, implies Government^h) had raised in him. One may defy the most diligent Examiner into Political or Moral Writers, to cull from them all, such Inconsistencies, as, when put together in any manner he pleases, can furnish out such a monstrous and unnatural Account as the Author has here given us of the Formation of *Society*.

His Account of the Origin of *moral Virtues* is just such another Master-piece. He says, the Distinctions between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice, were the Contrivance of *Politicians*ⁱ; and again^k, *Moral Virtues are the political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride*, or the Offspring which the Flattery of Politicians begot upon Pride; and again, *the first Rudiments of Morality were broached by skilful Politicians to render Men useful to each other*^l. Whoever these Politicians were, or in what Age or Country soever they lived, they were certainly (according to his Scheme) but sorry Bunglers at their Work; the introducing such a Distinction, or concurring in the Production of *Moral Virtues*, being only creating, according to him, so many Sources of Distress and Poverty to a People. If all modern Politicians are as *cunning* as these first, he may be very right in his Opinion, that *the Governors of Societies, and those in high Stations, are greater Bubbles than any of the rest*^m.

^h P. 399, & 400. By a Society I mean a Body Politick, — where under one Head or other Form of Government, &c.

ⁱ P. 33. l. 18, and p. 34. ^k P. 37. ^l P. 33. ^m P. 244.

This Account of *moral Virtues* destroys the very Use he would make of it. For if it was found from Reason or Observation, that moral Virtues tended to the Peace, Happiness and Wealth of a Society, that they *rendred Men USEFUL to each other*, it will be the same thing in the present Case, whether the Origin of them were Political, Natural, or Religious. It will be sufficient, I say, that in themselves they tend to promote those Ends.

The Task our Author has undertaken, is to represent Virtue as base and contemptible in Theory, and mischievous in Practice. To do one without the other, was below his comprehensive Genius. To undervalue it in Theory, he tells you, 'tis *the Offspring of Flattery begot upon Pride*ⁿ; that some of the *worst* of Men had a hand in the Production of it^o; that 'tis contrary to *the Impulse of Nature*^p; that 'tis a meer State-Engine; that *the first Rudiments of Morality were broached by skilful Politicians, to render Men USEFUL to each other*^q. To demonstrate how destructive 'tis in Practice, he tells you, 'tis not only USELESS, but it *spoils*, if it does not *totally dissolve the Society*^r; that it reduced a *spacious, rich, wise, learned, happy and powerful Hive*^t, a Society that rang'd about and enjoy'd the Sweets of the Earth, to a poor, wretched, distress'd Company, and at last confin'd them to the Limits of a hollow Tree^u, where they were left to starve upon their Honesty; for Honesty, from the very Nature of it, is a *mean starving Quality*^v. Who can wonder at this Heap of Blunder, in the Defense of two such inconsistent Assertions? Either of them would have furnish'd out Ab-

ⁿ P. 37. ^o P. 34. ^p Ibid. ^q P. 33.

^r P. 428. The Moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled, if not totally dissolved.

^t P. 1. of the Fable. ^u P. 22.

^v P. 105. Frugality is like Honesty, a mean starving Virtue.

furdity enough, without tacking the two Contrarieties together.

If what the Author has scatter'd up and down in his Book relating to the Origin of moral Virtues, and the Politicians Management in forming a Society, were put together, it would furnish out some such Account as this; for to insist upon every Blunder by it self would be tiresome.

' In a Country not yet discover'd by the rest of Man,
' kind, and before the Jewish or Christian Account of
' the World's Creation, there dwelt great Numbers of
' a sort of Animal call'd Man. But before I proceed
' to relate the following Adventures, it will be neces-
' sary to obviate an Objection, that I foresee will be
' made either by the critical or religious Reader, con-
' cerning the Circumstances of Time and Place. Now
' those I affirm may be true, notwithstanding what
' *The Bible* says to the contrary; BECAUSE the Ani-
' mals I am speaking of, were neither Jews nor Chri-
' stians ^w.

' Man in his savage Nature was a peaceable, quiet ^x,
' timorous ^y, extraordinary selfish, headstrong, cunning ^z,
' innocent, stupid ^a, silly ^b Animal.

' His only Appetites were to preserve himself and
' his Species ^c; which as they were not very violent,
' were easily satisfied ^d. He had nothing of that Com-
' pound of various Passions, all which, as they have
' been provok'd and come uppermost, have since go-
' verned him by turns, whether he would or no ^e. Or

^w *Introduction*, and p. 35.

^x P. 226. Man, as he is a fearful Animal, loves Peace and Quiet.

^y P. 226. Man must consequently be a timorous Animal.

^z P. 28. Man being an extraordinary selfish, headstrong, as well as cunning Animal.

^a P. 226. He is roused from his natural Innocence and Stupidity.

^b P. 237. So silly a Creature is Man.

^c P. 219. ^d P. 226. ^e *The Introduction*.

if he had, they had forever lain asleep and remain'd concealed, had not a memorable Accident roused them up and call'd them out into publick Appearance^f.
N. B. I use the Word *Passions* for Passions and Vices promiscuously.

It happen'd thus: A certain *Politician*, who was himself at this time one of the innocent, stupid Animals I describ'd above (and at the same time a Wizard or a Conjuror, as I will prove by and by) having thoroughly examin'd all the Strength and Frailties of humane Nature^g, took it into his Head to civilize Man, and make him a social Creature. This he did with a generous Design to make Man useful to himself and others. His Design in this was chiefly ambitious, intending by it to establish a Jurisdiction over him, and to make him a Slave by the easiest and securest Methods possible^h.

The Minute he became a Member of Society, Pride, Envy, Avarice and Ambition caught hold of himⁱ; the cunning Animal is roused from his natural Innocence and Stupidity, his Knowledge encreases, his Desires are enlarged, and consequently his Wants and Appetites are multiplied; the least Disappointment in all these makes him grow very

^f P. 226. What I said last, &c. ^g P. 29.

^h P. 33. The first Rudiments of Morality broached by skilful Politicians, to render Men useful to each other as well as tractable, were chiefly contriv'd that the Ambitious might——govern vast Numbers of them with greater Ease and Security.

ⁱ P. 226, & 227. What I said last must only be understood of Man in his savage State; for if we examine him as a Member of a Society, and a taught Animal, we shall find him quite another Creature: As soon as his Pride has Room to play, and Envy, Avarice and Ambition begin to catch hold of him, he is roused from his natural Innocence and Stupidity. As his Knowledge encreases, his Desires are enlarged, and consequently his Wants and Appetites are multiplied: Hence it must follow, that he will be often cross'd in the Pursuit of them, and meet with abundance more Disappointments to stir up his Anger in this than his former Condition; and Man would in a little time become the most hurtful and noxious Creature in the World, if let alone, &c.

' fierce and angty^k: What a Legion of Devils had *the*
 ' *Politician* raised here ! Who would have thought this
 ' was the way to render Men tractable^l? The Poli-
 ' tician was aware of the Difficulty he was in. He
 ' found that with these mutinous Passions once
 ' roused, Man would grow the most hurtful and noxious
 ' Creature in the World, if let alone^m; and what is
 ' worse, would not tamely submit to his Jurisdiction;
 ' These being probably given him by Nature, as so many
 ' Guards upon his Liberty. 'Twas necessary therefore
 ' that he should part with these and all his other na-
 ' tural Appetites some way or other. 'Twas impos-
 ' sible by Force alone to take them away and make
 ' him tractableⁿ. The chief thing he labour'd, was to
 ' coax them out of him, by telling him 'twas more be-
 ' neficial to every body to conquer than to indulge
 ' them^o; that is, to conquer them in the manner he
 ' should direct; that 'twas better to prefer the Good of

^k P. 227. The Provocations he will receive to Anger, will be infinite in the civilis'd State.

^l P. 33. To render Men——tractable.

^m P. 227.

ⁿ P. 28. It is impossible by Force alone to make him tractable.

^o P. 28. The chief Thing therefore, which Lawgivers and other wise Men, that have labour'd for the Establishment of Society, have endeavour'd, has been to make the People they were to govern, believe, that it was more beneficial for every body to conquer than indulge his Appetites, and much better to mind the Publick than what seem'd his private Interest. As this has always been a very difficult Task, so no Wit or Eloquence has been left untried to compass it; and the Moralists and Philosophers of all Ages employed their utmost Skill to prove the Truth of so useful an Assertion. But whether Mankind would have ever believ'd it or not, it is not likely that any body could have persuaded them to disapprove of their natural Inclinations, or prefer the Good of others to their own, if at the same time he had not shew'd them an Equivalent to be enjoy'd as a Reward for the Violence, which by so doing they of necessity must commit upon themselves. Those that have undertaken to civilize Mankind, were not ignorant of this; but being unable to give so many real Rewards as would satisfy all Persons for every individual Action, they were forc'd to contrive an imaginary one, that as a general Equivalent for the Trouble of Self-denial should serve on all Occasions, and without costing any thing either to themselves or others, be yet a most acceptable Recompence to the Receivers.

others to their own. This, you will say, was a very
 difficult Task, and therefore the Politician set his
 Wit and Eloquence to work, to compass it; but Man
 being an extraordinary selfish and headstrong, as well
 as cunning Animal, was resolv'd not to be persuaded
 to prefer the Good of others to his own, or to be
 wheedled out of his Innocence and Stupidity, his In-
 clinations, and Liberty, without being shewed an *Equi-*
valent. The Politician was not ignorant of this, but
 being unable to give so many real Rewards as would
 satisfy all Persons, he contrived an Imaginary one,
 that should serve on all Occasions, cost nothing, and
 yet be greedily catch'd at as a mighty Prize. At last
 he hit upon one that tickled their Fancies to his
 Purpose. What d'ye think the Equivalent was? Why
 he told him, that Man was a sublime Creature, and
 better than a Brute, if he would subdue his Appetites,
 and do as he bid him^p. Then he divided the whole
 Species into two Classes, and made Proclamation,
 that whoever would not subdue his Appetites, and
 give them up to his Management, was an abject, low
 minded^q, vile, groveling Wretch, the Dross of his
 kind, had only the Shape of a Man, and was the
 next step to a Brute^r, and therefore should belong to
 this Class; but whosoever would do as he bid him,
 was a brave Fellow, a lofty, noble-minded Creature^s,
 and should belong to the *other*.

Now 'tis hardly to be doubted, but Lessons and
 Remonstrances, so skilfully adapted^t, must needs not

^p P. 30. ^q Ibid. ^r Ibid. ^s Ibid.

^t P. 31 & 32. It is hardly to be doubted but Lessons and Remonstrances, so
 skilfully adapted to the good Opinion Man has of himself, as those I have
 mention'd, must, if scatter'd amongst a Multitude, not only gain the As-
 sent of most of them, as to the speculative Part, but likewise induce fe-
 veral, especially the fiercest, most resolute, and best among them, to endure
 a thousand Inconveniencies, and undergo as many Hardships, that they may
 have the Pleasure of counting themselves Men of the second Class, and con-
 sequently appropriating to themselves all the Excellencies they have heard
 of it.

‘ only make this extraordinary selfish and headstrong, as
 ‘ well as cunning Animal ^v, give up his Liberty, and
 ‘ prefer the Good of others to his own ^w; but like-
 ‘ wise induce the best among them to endure a thousand
 ‘ Inconveniencies, and undergo as many Hardships,
 ‘ that they might have the Pleasure of counting them-
 ‘ selves Men of the Second Class.

‘ But the Reader perhaps will wonder how this Mat-
 ‘ ter was brought about so easily, and especially how
 ‘ the Politician (Man being yet in his State of Inno-
 ‘ cence and Stupidity) should shew so much Stratagem
 ‘ and Cunning. To this I answer, in the First Place,
 ‘ that the Politician was no Modern, and his Country
 ‘ I have not mention’d; besides that it can’t be ima-
 ‘ gin’d that he could have executed the Matter quite so
 ‘ cleverly, if I had not taught him his Politicks. I
 ‘ may say this by a *Prolepsis*, very pardonable in a
 ‘ Philosophical ^x, or rather an Historico-Philosophi-
 ‘ cal Treatise. In the Second Place, I have not yet
 ‘ told the Reader, that the Politician and his
 ‘ Tools had all this while the Government to back
 ‘ them; and I lay it down as a Rule, that when Law-
 ‘ givers and other wise Men labour for the Esta-
 ‘ blishment of Society ^y, and to civilize Mankind ^z, they
 ‘ will never make any thing of it without the Authori-
 ‘ ty of the Government on their Side ^a, so as the People
 ‘ may be kept in Awe by the Power of their Rulers ^b.

^v P. 28. ^w Ibid.

^x P. 469. The Beginning of the Prose is altogether Philosophical.

^y P. 28. ^z Ibid.

^a P. 32. And having ever the Authority of the Government on their Side.

^b P. 33. Others be afraid of the Resolution and Prowess of those of the Second Class, and that all of them were kept in Awe by the Power of their Rulers. *That this is the plain and natural Meaning of the Author, will be confirmed yet further from the first Words of the very next Paragraph.* This was (or at least might have been) the Manner after which savage Man was broke, from whence ’tis evident, that the first Rudiments of Morality were contrived that the Ambitious might govern, &c.

‘ But

‘ But what mainly contributed to compleat the Po-
 ‘ litician’s Success, and shewed his Contrivance the
 ‘ most, was a Circumstance yet behind, at least not yet
 ‘ particularly display’d. He observ’d there was a cer-
 ‘ tain Male Creature, call’d *Flattery*, and a certain Fe-
 ‘ male one, call’d *Pride*; and prying thoroughly into the
 ‘ Nature and Constitution^c of these two, he thought if
 ‘ he could but bring about an amorous Commerce be-
 ‘ tween them, somewhat would come of it that might
 ‘ prove of excellent Use to him, and draw the Liber-
 ‘ ties of the People into his own Hand. The Intrigue
 ‘ succeeded to his Wishes; Pride grew in Love with
 ‘ Flattery, and in due Time, out comes a numerous
 ‘ Offspring, call’d *Moral Virtues*^d. There were several
 ‘ who assisted at the Birth, and what’s most wonderful,
 ‘ some of the veriest Rascals of their Kind had a hand
 ‘ in it. These were they that chiefly found their Account
 ‘ in the whole Matter. They did the Office of our
 ‘ Gossips*: Such, wanting Pride and Resolution to buoy
 ‘ them up in mortifying of what was dearest to them,
 ‘ and yet ashamed of confessing they could not; in their
 ‘ own Defence, some admiring in others what they
 ‘ found wanting in themselves^e, others afraid of the

^c P. 29. They thoroughly examin’d all the Strength and Frailties of our Nature, and observing, &c.

^d P. 37. The Moral virtues are the political Offspring which Flattery be- get upon Pride.

* P. 34. They agreed—to give the Name of *Virtue*, &c.

^e P. 32. Those who wanted a sufficient Stock of either Pride or Reso- lution to buoy them up in mortifying of what was dearest to them, fol- lowed the sensual Dictates of Nature, would yet be ashamed of confessing themselves to be those despicable Wretches that belong’d to the inferiour Class, and were generally reckon’d to be so little remov’d from Brutes; and that therefore in their own Defence they would say, as others did, and hiding their own Imperfections as well as they could, cry up Self-denial and publick Spiritedness as much as any: For it is highly probable, that some of them, convinced by the real Proofs of Fortitude and Self-Conquest they had seen, would admire in others what they found wanting in them- selves; others be afraid of the Resolution and Prowess of those of the Second Class, and that all of them were kept in Awe by the Power of their Rulers, wherefore it is reasonable to think, that none of them (what- ever they thought in themselves) would dare openly contradict, what by every body else was thought criminal to doubt of.

' Resolution and Prowess of the Virtuous, and kept in
 ' Awe by the Power of their Rulers, not daring openly
 ' to contradict what by every body else was thought
 ' criminal to doubt of; and in the Gratification of their
 ' Appetites, being continually cross'd by others of the
 ' same Stamp; and by checking their Inclinations, or
 ' following them with more Circumspection, avoid-
 ' ing a world of Troubles, and escaping many Calami-
 ' ties^f, finding they received the Benefit of virtuous
 ' Actions, and in order to lessen the Number of Ri-
 ' vals in Roguery, and Sharers in the Pleasure of it^g;
 ' and it being upon the whole (I say, for all these Rea-
 ' sons, or some of these Reasons, or some such other
 ' Reasons) the Interest of the very worst of them more
 ' than any to encourage the Cheat, they agreed to call
 ' all natural Actions, VICES, and to give the Name of
 ' VIRTUE to every Performance contrary to the Im-
 ' pulse of Nature^h.

' 'Tis plain from hence, that there were *Vices* in the
 ' World, before there were any *Virtues*. For the way the
 ' Politician took to satisfy his *Ambition*, was by play-
 ' ing the Engine of *Flattery* upon *Pride*, from whence
 ' came Moral Virtuesⁱ; or as I have express'd it in

^f P. 33. For even those who only strove to gratify their Appetites, be-
 ing continually cross'd by others of the same Stamp, could not but observe,
 that whenever they checked their Inclinations or but followed them with
 more Circumspection, they avoided a world of Troubles, and often escaped
 many of the Calamities that generally attended the too eager Pursuit after
 Pleasure.

^g P. 34. First, they received, as well as others, the Benefit of those Ac-
 tions that were done for the Good of the whole Society, and consequently
 could not forbear wishing well to those of the superior Class that perform'd
 them. Secondly, the more intent they were in seeking their own Advan-
 tage, without regard to others, the more they were hourly convinced, that
 none stood so much in their way as those that were most like themselves.

^h P. 34. It being the Interest then of the very worst of them, more than
 any——they agreed with the rest, to call every thing, which without
 regard to the Publick, Man should commit to gratify any of his Appetites,
 VICE——And to give the Name of Virtue to every Performance, by
 which Man, contrary to the Impulse of Nature, &c. P. 37.

another Place, there were *good*^k and *bad* Men, before
 there was any Rule to judge of Goodness or Badness
 by; there was Transgression before there was a Law:
 for some of the *worst* of Men had a hand in the first
 Production of Virtue^l. This may seem a little strange,
 but I told the Reader, there was Witchcraft in it.
 Perhaps the Generality of the People won't fall in with
 these Notions. So much the better. *Apagè vulgus*,
 say I. The only Use I make of them, is to serve as a
 Touch-stone. Whatever Opinion they fall in with,
 that's false, think I to my self^m, and in this lies the
 great Mystery of *Free-thinking*. To return then.

These Moral Virtues were thought by the Vulgar
 to make a beautiful Figure, and were observ'd to de-
 light much in each other's Company. But 'tis no
 wonder, that they who were let into the Secret of
 the Intrigue just now mention'd, and by that means
 knew their base Originalⁿ, should not be able to dis-
 cover such Charms, either in them, or their Votaries^o.
 'Tis plain, they were a most unnatural Brood; for the
 Minute they came into the World, they went to work,
 and endeavour'd to destroy and root out their Parents,
 with all other Vices, their Relations, and a numerous
 Crowd of Dependants, Tradesmen, Artificers, &c.
 that subsisted entirely upon them; who (as I flatter my

^k P. 32. Especially the fiercest, most resolute, and *Best* among them.

^l P. 34. It being the Interest then of the very worst of them—they agreed—to give, &c.

^m P. 469, & 470. The greatest Compliment I have made them has been, *Apagè vulgus*. But as nothing (I say p. 257.) would more clearly demonstrate the Falsity of my Notions than that the Generality of the People should fall in with them, &c.

ⁿ P. 37. The political Offspring, which Flattery begot upon Pride. *And* P. 34. It being the Interest then of the very worst of them—they agreed—to give the Name of Virtue.

^o *Speaking of the Effects an Universal Honesty had upon Men, and the Mischiefs they felt from it, he says, p. 15.*

Which now in Silence they confess,
 By blushing at their Uglinefs.

‘ self to have demonstrated ^p) all vanish’d with their
 ‘ Tools and Implements, in proportion as People paid
 ‘ their Court to these mischievous Creatures ^q.

‘ But the Production of one of these Virtues hav-
 ‘ ing some singular Circumstances attending it, and
 ‘ shewing in an extraordinary manner the Politician’s
 ‘ Genius, I can’t but think it will divert Persons of un-
 ‘ questionable good Sense ^r, and please Men of any to-
 ‘ lerable Taste ^s, to have a more particular Account
 ‘ of it.

‘ Man had one useful Passion about him, and ’twas
 ‘ the only one he had, called *Fear*; for as to his Anger,
 ‘ the Society had no manner of Occasion for it^t. He
 ‘ had another Passion, call’d *Anger*, altogether as use-
 ‘ ful as *Fear*. The Society had occasion for it when-
 ‘ ever they wanted to extend their Limits further ^v; in
 ‘ which Case ’twas the *Politician*’s Business to lay their
 ‘ *Fear*, and raise up *Anger* in the room of it ^w. If any
 ‘ curious Reader should ask, how the Politician got the
 ‘ Custody of these Passions, I answer once for all, that
 ‘ he bewitch’d them out of Men, by an Engine he had
 ‘ contrived on purpose ^x; and when he had once got

^p P. 427, & 428. I flatter my self to have demonstrated——that the moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled, if not totally dissolved.

^q P. 14. First march’d some Smiths, &c.

^r P. 467. Such as it is (*The Fable of the Bees*) I am satisfied that it has diverted Persons of unquestionable good Sense.

^s P. 472. I always thought it would please Men of any tolerable Taste.

^t P. 227 & 228. The only useful Passion then that Man is possess’d of toward the Peace and Quiet of a Society, is his Fear;——for how useful soever Anger may be to Man, as he is a single Creature by himself, yet the Society has no manner of occasion for it.

^u P. 228. The Society may have occasion to extend their Limits further. The Politician now must alter his Measures, and take off some of Man’s Fears. And p. 229. You may soon stir them up to Anger, and while that lasts, they will fight with greater Obstinacy than any disciplin’d Troops. And p. 221. Whilst this Fear lasts, no Creature can fight offensively. The most contrary to it (Fear) is *Anger*.

^w P. 228. The Politician now must alter his Measures; and p. 229. Stir them up to Anger, &c.

^x P. 29. Making use of this bewitching Engine; and p. 37. The Witchcraft of Flattery.

' them safe, 'twas easy to keep them. 'Twas but put-
 ' ting them into little separate Apartments impercep-
 ' tible to common Eyes; and having a Trap-door to
 ' them all. So whenever he whistled, or lifted up the
 ' Door, they rose, and sunk again, like the Sprites in a
 ' modern Farce. 'Twas Anger then, that carried them
 ' out to Combat, and made them fight with greater
 ' Obstinacy than any disciplin'd Troops^y; but as this
 ' was a sudden, flashy, short-liv'd Thing, and apt to de-
 ' sert them in time of greatest Danger, in which Case
 ' Fear always seiz'd them again, and made them run
 ' away to a Man^z; *The Politician*, I say, observing
 ' this, found he had occasion for something more stea-
 ' dy, constant and uniform in the room of it. This
 ' was call'd *Courage*. 'Tis no matter, whether there
 ' ever was such a thing in Nature^a. The Politician
 ' told them there was, that the Generality of them *had*
 ' it, or *ought* to have it^b. Some of them immediately
 ' took the hint, and swore, they felt it heaving in their
 ' Breasts^c. These the Politician made his Bullies. He
 ' sent them about to threaten and terrify all the Cow-
 ' ards they met, and to maintain against all Gainfay-
 ' ers, that they were Men of Courage^d. Then he put

^y P. 229.

^z P. 229. If any thing happens that was unforeseen, &c. Fear seizes them, disarms their Anger, and makes them run away to a Man.

^a P. 219. Let us examine what Courage consists in, and whether it be as most People will have it, a real something, &c.

^b P. 230. If a Politician should tell them, that the Generality of Men had within them a Principle of Valour distinct from Anger——That they who had the most of it, were the most valuable of their Kind, it is very likely, considering what has been said, that most of them, tho' they felt nothing of this Principle, would swallow it for Truth——and imagine they felt it heaving in their Breasts. ^c Ibid.

^d P. 231. If but one in ten can be persuaded openly to declare, that he is possess'd of this Principle, and maintain it against all Gainfayers, there will soon be half a Dozen that shall assert the same. Whoever has once owned it is engag'd, the Politician has nothing to do but to take all imaginable Care to flatter the Pride of those that brag of, and are willing to stand by it.

‘ a fine Garland of Feathers about their Heads ^e, and
 ‘ told every body, that if they would joyn these valiant
 ‘ Gentlemen, and swear they felt Courage within them,
 ‘ they should all wear the same, and if they happen’d
 ‘ to be knock’d on the Head, for standing to their Prin-
 ‘ ciples (as ’twas likely most of them would) they
 ‘ should all lie in a huge, commodious, fine, new-fa-
 ‘ shion’d Bed, that no body had ever lain in before,
 ‘ called *the Bed of Honour*, and have Dirges sung over
 ‘ them, as soon as ever they lost their Hearing ^f.

‘ By the Help of such high-sounding Words ^g, the
 ‘ Project took, and it became so fashionable, that all
 ‘ the World swore they had Courage, and rather than
 ‘ discover the Reality of their Hearts (for they trembled
 ‘ all this while) the poor Creatures suffer’d themselves
 ‘ to be cut to pieces, and would never own, they did
 ‘ not feel Courage heaving within them ^h. Thus Cou-
 ‘ rage first came into the World, and whenever there’s
 ‘ a Want of it, the same Secret to raise it, which I
 ‘ first found out, and made publick, with a small Al-
 ‘ teration, will raise it again ⁱ. Or as I have express’d it
 ‘ elsewhere, the same Receipt, to make Courage, will
 ‘ serve to make it again ^k. And this Secret, as I have
 ‘ made it publick, I leave to all State-Cooks to the
 ‘ End of the World. ’Tis almost *infallible, ex præ-*
 ‘ *scripto*——

‘ Besides this spurious sort, there’s a true genuine;
 ‘ natural, rational *Courage*; this is what I just now

^e P. 232. Then put Feathers in their Caps.

^f P. 233. Those that were killed, ought to be artfully lamented——for to pay Honours to the Dead, will ever be a sure Method to make Bubbles of the Living.

^g P. 232 and 233. Talk——of the Bed of Honour, and such like high-sounding Words.

^h P. 231. Till at last the Fear of discovering the Reality of his Heart——outdoes the Fear of Death it self.

ⁱ P. 383. The Secret to raise a Courage, as I have made it publick in *Remark R.* is almost infallible.

^k How artificial Courage is made, *The Contents to the First Edition.*

‘ call’d Anger, and seldom or never appears either in
 ‘ Man or Beast, but when ’tis excited by Hunger or
 ‘ Lust¹. As these Appetites in Men are very weak, and
 ‘ easily satisfied^m; so there’s little or no true Courage
 ‘ among them, except among the *Clergy*, who are born
 ‘ with a natural Tendency, to a great Share of this Cou-
 ‘ rage, as I have prov’d elsewhereⁿ.

‘ This was the Manner, after which savage Man was
 ‘ broke, at least it might have been^o, for aught you
 ‘ can prove by any Witnesses that were present upon
 ‘ that Occasion.

¹ P. 225. The two principal Appetites which disappointed can stir up this last named Passion (*Anger*) are *Hunger* and *Lust*. And again, p. 226. What we call Prowess or natural Courage in Creatures, is nothing but the Effect of Anger, and that all fierce Animals must be either very ravenous or very lustful, if not both. Let us now examine what by this Rule we ought to judge of our own Species.

^m P. 226.

ⁿ P. 165. The Reverend Divines of all Sects, even of the most reformed Churches in all Countries, take care with the *Cyclops Evangeliphorus*, First, *Ut ventri bene sit*; and afterwards, *ne quid desit iis quæ sub ventre sunt*.

The Reader perhaps will desire to know who this *Cyclops Evangeliphorus* was, that the Author mentions to Englishmen, as familiarly as he would the Names of Robin Hood, or Sir John Falstaff. He must know then that Cannius and Polyphemus are the two Persons, in one of Erasmus’s *Colloquies*. This Polyphemus had the Gospel in his Hand, when his Acquaintance met him; and Cannius knowing that his way of Life was not very agreeable to the Precepts of it, tells him in ridicule, that he should not any longer be called Polyphemus, but *Evangeliphorus*, pro Polyphemo dicendus est *Evangeliphorus*, as one before had been called *Christophorus*. The *Colloquy* it self (because Polyphemus happens to be the Name of one of the *Cyclopes*) is entituled, *Cyclops, five Evangeliphorus*. Our Author, not content with this, tacks them both together, and calls him, by a small Mistake (excusable enough in the writing so long a Word) *Cyclops Evangeliphorus*, instead of *Evangeliphorus*. Words that fill the Mouth very well, and which he seems to have put together for the Edification of those, who, with the old Fellow in Love makes the Man, HONOUR THE SOUND OF GREEK.

^o P. 33. This was (or at least might have been) the manner after which savage Man was broke.

S E C T. III.

THE general Position laid down by the Author, is, that *Private Vices* are *Publick Benefits*. The Truth of this he undertakes to demonstrate in particular Instances. But the Vice he has chiefly fixed upon for this Purpose, is *Luxury*, which he endeavours to prove, is absolutely necessary to the Wealth and Happiness of a People.

To judge of the Weight of what he has offer'd in Defence of this, it should be known first what is *Luxury*; for he seems to question, whether there really be such a Thing in Nature^p. If it consists barely in the Possession or Enjoyment of *Abundance*, it will be allowed him, that it is not a *publick Disadvantage*; but then 'tis as certain, 'tis not a *private Vice*. 'Tis ridiculous then to say, that the ornamental Arts would cease, or lessen, by a general Practice of Virtue^q. It is so far from being true (as he pretends) that *no new Houses would be built*^r; that on the contrary People might reasonably afford to employ a much greater Expence, both in building and adorning them, as the great and necessary Expences, that every Man is now put to, in providing against the Inconveniencies of Roguery, would be saved by this general Practice of Virtue.

What greater Immorality is there in the Work of the finest Chisel, or the nicest Plane, than in that of an *Axe* or a *Saw*^s? Painting and Gilding have no more Dishonesty in them, than the Use of Dirt or Stones. All the Fruits of the Earth were design'd for the Service of Man, and his Skill and Capacity in the Improvement

^p Either every thing is Luxury, or else there is none at all. *Contents of the first Edit. and p. 124. last Edit. in one Sense, &c.*

^q See the Fable, and his Remark S.

^r P. 247. ^s Ibid.

of them were given him by Nature, to make his present Being easy and agreeable to him, in every thing, which does not interfere with the Happiness of a future one. If *Frugality* would not employ so many Hands, *Generosity*, (especially when assisted by an Elegance of Taste) which is equally a Virtue, certainly would. There is a Latitude, even in Virtues, which leaves room for all the Conveniencies, that he supposes are the Effects of the two Extreams of Avarice and Prodigality. 'Tis a trifling and perverse way of reasoning, to say, that a Man's *Frugality*^c does not supply Employments and a Maintenance to the Poor; and that he does not save up Wealth by the Help of his *Liberality*. To say, that the *Weight* of Iron does not enable it to resist the Impulse of other Bodies; nor its *Hardness* carry it downwards, would be full as judicious a Remark. It is enough, that Qualities would still remain very consistent with Virtue, that would give the same Life to the Liberal Arts, and afford equal Encouragement to Industry. What should make him think, that an Universal *Frugality* must needs be the Consequence of a *National Virtue*, any more than an Universal *Liberality*?

But if Luxury consists in the Excess of Ease and Pleasure, or in the Abuse of Plenty, or in a greater Expence than is proportion'd to Peoples Circumstances and Fortunes (for what is commonly called *Luxury*, includes all these) 'tis both a *private Vice*, and a *publick Prejudice*. Too much Indulgence in Ease and sensual Pleasure, may indispose the Mind for Reflection, and the Body for Labour; besides a Train of other Vices they naturally lead to. A Bed of Down may be unhealthy, and consequently a piece of *Luxury*, when

^c P. 195 & 196. 'Tis an idle dreaming Virtue that employs no Hands.

one of harder Make, tho' altogether as costly, may *not* be so. For the same Reason, rich Sawces may be *Luxury*, when the same Expence in a plainer Dish deserves the Name as little as undress'd Roots. Where any Cruelty is exercis'd, or any unnecessary Pain given to Animals, in preparing them for Food, 'tis *Luxury* with the Addition of a much greater Crime. These several sorts of *Luxury* tend to debauch and corrupt a People, and render them unfit for that Labour and Service, by the Help of which the Wealth of the Society is acquired.

On the other hand, I believe it will be found that nothing is truly and properly *Luxury*, that is consistent with a Man's Health or Fortune, or that is not attended with the Commission of some other Crime, or the Neglect of some other Duty.

But when to the Sorts of *Luxury* mention'd above, is join'd a greater Expence than Men's Fortunes will allow of, the Poverty and Ruin of a Country are the unavoidable Effects of it. In this Sense of the Word, the *Luxury* of one Age affects future ones as certainly and necessarily as the Extravagance of a *Father* makes the *Son* poor, or as the Excess of Expence *one Year* produces a greater Scarcity *the next*.

But let us examine more particularly whether *Lavishness* be, as he represents it, *a most beneficial Vice to the Publick*^v, whether it be the likeliest Method to make *a wealthy Nation formidable to their Neighbours*, and come up to the Character of the Bees in the Fable, of which he tells you^w, he said that

“ Flatter'd in Peace, and fear'd in Wars,

“ They were th' Esteem of Foreigners.

^v *Contrasts to the first Edit.*

^w *P. 125. last Edit.*

If publick Wealth consists in the Product or Profits of a Soil, which are chiefly consumable Commodities, 'tis plain the *more* there is consumed, the *less* must remain. Suppose a small Community, consisting only of half a dozen Families, the Soil of each Man's Estate producing somewhat different from the rest : Suppose their Commerce confined to themselves : If one of these Families is more luxurious or expensive than the rest, the Property of that Family must by degrees be divided among their more *frugal* Neighbours : And this from the Nature and Course of Trade it self. 'Tis the same in any larger Body ; only that the larger it is, the longer Time it will require to bring this about. But the Effect in both Cases is equally certain and inevitable. The Progress it will take, is easy to be shewn. If one Nation gives into a greater Luxury than their Neighbours, it must be by a greater Expence of *their own* Commodities ; in which Case the fewer will remain to purchase *foreign* Commodities with : Or it must be by an Expence of foreign Commodities, which must be paid for some way or other ; and 'tis not a Severity of Laws against the Exportation of Money, that can prevent their being paid for. The only Effects such Laws can have, is to prevent the *Luxury* it self. For as Foreigners would expect to be paid for their Goods some way or other, the Difficulty of being able to pay for them would naturally make the Demand for them less ; and consequently restrain the Expence and Luxury which occasioned that Demand. But if ever a national Luxury could arrive to that Height, as to make People despise those Dangers, and the Laws themselves prove ineffectual, they must by degrees part with their Money (as being easily exported) and afterwards with the rest of their Property to pay for those Commodities that supply their Luxury. Not only the Produce of their Soil, but the very Property

perty of their Soil, for want of exportable Commodities, must in Time be given in Exchange to such (if there be any such) as will continue to supply them with Goods. I don't mean by this, that 'tis probable, or even possible, that such a Case should happen; *because 'tis impossible* a People should ever indulge their Luxury so far. The Poverty and Extremity they would see themselves reduced to, would naturally make them alter their Conduct, and grow frugal, long before their Luxury would reach this Height. But 'tis a Demonstration, that *as far* as their Luxury extended, just *so far* it would impoverish them, and by the Steps and Methods described above. Before a National Luxury was grown to such an Excess, a Government would find themselves under an absolute Necessity, by the strictest Care and most severe Penalties, not only to forbid the Exportation of their Coin, but the Importation of any Goods whatever; that is, they must forbid all foreign Trade, and oblige the People to live upon the Produce of their own Soil; and such Laws would truly and properly be deemed *sumptuary* Laws. Or rather the Necessities People would find themselves reduced to, would put them upon these Measures without the Interposition of their Governors.

Consider this in another Light. 'Tis a received Maxim in every trading Country, that the Imports must never exceed the Exports; and that when they do, their Trade is prejudicial to them. Why is it prejudicial? or how does it appear to be so? Because such Exceedings of Imports are a Demonstration that the People of that Country spend more than the Product or Profits of their own Soil: That is, they are Extravagant and Luxurious. They must part with a Share of their Money, to balance Accounts with their corresponding Traders; for balanced they must be some way or other. Every Year this Trade continues, so much the poorer

poorer they grow by it, and so much the less Money or Property remains among them.

What I have hitherto said, goes upon a Supposition, that the Wealth of a People consists in the Produce or Profits of their Soil. If the *Dutch* are brought as an Instance to prove the contrary, the *Land* there (if the Author says true) being not *enough to feed the tenth Part of the Inhabitants* ^x, I answer, that the Author when he says this, forgets the Land of their foreign Settlements, which certainly ought to be consider'd as a Part of their Soil. 'Tis chiefly with the Produce of those Settlements, that the *Dutch* purchase the Provisions of other Countries. For otherwise 'tis not to be imagined they could be weak enough to leave so much of their little Home-Soil uncultivated^y. And again, as they make a great Advantage from their Fishery, those Parts of the Sea where they have a Right of Fishery, are properly a Part of their Soil. The Wealth of *Holland* then must consist in the Produce of their own Soil; or, which is the same thing, in the Workmanship of Materials grown in other Countries, which must be had by the Exchange of Goods of their own Growth for them: And it makes no Difference in the present Account, whether the Wealth of a Country arises from the Extent and *natural* Richness of its own Soil, or from the *artificial* Advantages that are made of it, by the Skill, Industry, and Frugality of the Inhabitants.

^x P. 203. *N. B.* What the Author says here of the Scarcity of Land, and the Richness of every Inch of it, is expressly affirmed of the *Country* of the *Dutch*, or the seven Provinces. But it happens to be more for his Purpose two Pages after to contradict this, and confine what he said to the Province of *Holland* only. In that particular Province, though they are very rich, they are obliged to be very frugal, because they want Land; but in two other Provinces, though poorer than the first, they are *less stingy and more hospitable*. His View in all this is to acquaint *Englishmen*, that though they are never so poor, they may be as Luxurious as they please, because there is a great deal of Ground here.

^y P. 205. Abundance of Ground lies waste,

'Tis to this *Frugality and Virtue of their Ancestors* (though *Frugality* indeed is the chief *Virtue* they have hitherto been famous for) *that the Dutch may very reasonably, and always will ascribe their present Grandeur*². What awkward Pains does he take to prevent any publick Happiness being ascrib'd to *moral Virtues*? 'Tis owing, says he, *to their political Wisdom in postponing every Thing to Merchandize and Navigation, the unlimited Liberty of Conscience, &c.*². Be it so; but could these have made them rich, if their *Frugality* had not enabled them to make the most of those Advantages, by keeping that Wealth among themselves which this Conduct of theirs had brought them in? Could they have continued to be rich, if their *Luxury* had consumed this Wealth faster than their Trade brought it in? and if not, would their unlimited Liberty of Conscience have paid the Balance of their Accounts? If he knew what the Words *national Luxury* or *national Frugality* meant, the Truth of this would be Self-evident. By the first, as oppos'd to the last, is meant a People's spending more than their Income; in which Case *Trade* is so far from making them amends, that 'tis the very Misfortune they labour under. Trade is the very Means to supply their *Luxury*, without which they could *not* spend more than their Income.

As to their unlimited Liberty of Conscience, our Dissenters here would not thank him for his Care of them, if he propos'd the *Dutch Liberty of Conscience* as a Pattern for our Government to imitate; though some of them differ much less from the established Opinions of their Country, than the nearest of ours do from those of the national Church. If we were to take a View even of their *Civil Liberties*, whatever unaccountable Humour may prevail among a particular Set of Men

² P. 201.² P. 201, 202.

here, to extol the Freedom of a *Dutch* Government, the Subjects of *England* have a Right to such invaluable Privileges from the Excellency of their Constitution, that till they have lost all Sense of Virtue and Courage among them, and basely give up their own Liberties, they will find no Reason to envy *Holland* the Enjoyment of theirs^b.

He says the *Dutch* never were noted for Frugality before *Philip II.* of *Spain* began to tyrannize over them. No, nor were they ever noted for *Wealth* till then, nor till some Time after. *They chose rather to dye in Arms, than perish by cruel Executioners ; and in that unequal Strife (such was their Fortitude and Resolution) they maintained against the greatest and best disciplined Nation in Europe (and yet he will tell us by and by, that this greatest and best disciplin'd Nation had been impoverished and weakened by too much Money^c, a hundred Year before this) the most tedious and bloody War that is to be met with in antient or modern History^d.* 'Tis not strange he should endeavour to magnify the Valour of his Countrymen, which undoubtedly exerted itself in a very eminent manner, in endeavouring to get rid of so cruel a Slavery ; and yet Sir *William Temple*, who was never suspected of Prejudice against them, thinks their Bravery and Conduct were not so much owing to a Love for their Liberties, as to an invincible Hatred to the Spanish Nation ; which appeared afterwards by an earnest and solemn Offer of themselves to the Dominion of *England* and *France*. And such was the implacable Spirit by which they were governed, that when *their Affairs* grew desperate, he says, *they were once certainly upon the Counsel of burning their great Towns, wasting and de-*

^b In *Holland* Men are capitally punished without publick Trial. *Free Thoughts*, p. 333.

^c P. 215.

^d P. 202.

stroying what they could of their own Country, and going to seek some new Seats in the Indies ^e. And 'tis a known Observation that had been made of them before, that *tho'* no Nation under the Sun hated the Name of Slavery more, yet if they were managed with Discretion, no Nation would bear it more patiently.

But let the Motive they acted upon be what it would, was it their own Valour that did all those Feats? How willing he is to conceal all Sense of Obligation, which so generous and grateful a People might be thought to lie under to their Benefactors? But if it would not offend him too much, it would be easy to shew, from their own Accounts ^f, to whose Assistance and Protection all their Success was owing; who it was that raised them from the *poor and distressed Condition* they were in, to the *high and mighty Dignity* they have assumed since; who it was that nursed up their little sickly State, and preserved them under that irregular Form of Government they were forced to take up with, that patched up, worst constituted *Commonwealth* that is to be met with in *antient or modern History*.

Rather than to become a Victim to the Spanish Fury, they were contented to live upon a third Part of their Revenues, and lay out far the greatest Part of their Income in defending themselves against their merciless Enemies. These Hardships and Calamities of a War within their Bowels, first put them upon that extraordinary Frugality, and the Continuance under the same Difficulties for above fourscore Years, could not but render it customary and habitual to them ^g. So it seems at last the grand Secret of their Wealth is discover'd. 'Twas their *Frugality* that made them so rich; and in Return for it, I'll

^e Sir William Temple's Observations upon the United Provinces, Fol. Edit. 1720. p. 21.

^f See Grotius's Annals.

^g P. 203.

acquaint him with another Truth altogether as certain and apparent. By the Luxury they have lately run into, their Wealth is greatly sunk, their Publick overrun with Debts, their naval Force and Navigation much weakened and lessened; and if they make a proportionable Progress in another Age, they will be reduced to a Condition not much better than they were taken from.

The Nation I speak of was never in greater Streights, nor their Affairs in a more dismal Posture since they were a Republick, than in the Year 1671, and the beginning of 1672. What we know of their Oeconomy and Constitution with any Certainty, has been chiefly owing to Sir William Temple, whose Observations upon their Manners and Government, it is evident from several Passages in his Memoirs, were made about that Time^b. Then follows his Observation upon what he has been reading. *The Dutch indeed were THEN very frugal. Was there ever so injudicious a Remark? In what a perverse manner must he have read the Author he quotes? In the very same Paragraph in which Sir William Temple tells him, that his Observations were made about that Time, he ascribes the Decay of their Wealth to the Luxury he had for several Years observed to be growing among them.*

He begins it with taking Notice of the Enlargement of the City of *Amsterdam*, the new Buildings whereof he says, ‘ Are of so much greater Beauty and Cost
‘ than the old, that it must have employed a vast Pro-
‘ portion of that Stock which in this City was before
‘ wholly turned to Trade.’ He goes on, ‘ Besides,
‘ there seems to have been growing on for these later
‘ Years a greater Vie of Luxury and Expence among
‘ many of the Merchants of that Town, than was ever
‘ formerly known; which was observed and complain-

^b P. 206, and 207.

‘ ed of, as well as the Enlargement of their City, by
 ‘ some of the wisest of their Ministers, while I resided
 ‘ among them, who designed some Regulations by
 ‘ Sumptuary Laws ; as knowing the very Foundations
 ‘ of their Trade would soon be undermined, if the ha-
 ‘ bitual Industry, Parsimony, and Simplicity of their
 ‘ People came to be overrun by Luxury, Idleness, and
 ‘ Excess. However it happened, I found it agreed by
 ‘ all the most diligent and circumspect Enquiries I could
 ‘ make, that in the Years 69 and 70, there was hardly
 ‘ any foreign Trade among them, besides that of the
 ‘ *Indies*, &c.¹.

There goes a Story of a remarkable Entertainment, that a Burgho-master of *Amsterdam* made about the same time to the six and thirty Magistrates and their Wives. The first Course consisted of Butter-milk, Stock-fish, red Herrings, &c. Upon the removal of it, the Guests found underneath Papers of Verses, to let them know, that by such a Way of living they acquired their Wealth and enlarged their City. The second Course consisted of plain Butchers Meat, with Instructions at the end of it in the same manner, to tell them, that even by that sober Way of living they might preserve what they had got. The third consisted of all the Rarities that Luxury could furnish out ; the Papers left for them were to shew them the manner of Life they were got into, as what impaired their Healths and wasted their Estates. After this followed a Desert of the choicest Fruits and Sweet-meats piled up in Pyramids. The whole Entertainment concluded with a Masque ; the Advice put into their Hands at parting was, that if they did not abate of their Extravagance, and quit all such Buffoonries and awkward Imitations of the Customs of other Countries,

¹ *Obs. &c.* p. 69.

that their natural Genius rendred them unfit for, and return to the Simplicity of their Ancestors and Founders, their Commonwealth could not last ^k.

The Author of *the Fable* goes on for several Pages to account for this extraordinary *Frugality* that has been observed among them. But what Purpose does all this tend to? If it was their *Frugality* that made them rich, of what Consequence is it, whether Choice or Necessity put them first upon practising *Frugality*? But because *Frugality* is commonly accounted a *Virtue*, he is loth to leave his Countrymen under so heavy an Imputation, and therefore labours to prove that they are not *frugal* out of *Principle* ^l. And again ^m, that *their Frugality flows not so much from their Aversion to Vice, as from Necessity*. Who was ever weak enough to charge the *Dutch* with Instances of *Virtue* from any other Motive than Necessity, that is, Interest? 'Tis the grand Principle the Rulers of all Kingdoms go by; and if there were any Exceptions to it, he need not be in so much Pain for his Countrymen: No Body would go to *Holland* to look for Proofs of a generous and disinterested Regard to *Virtue* and *Honesty*. But surely it makes stronger against him, that Societies should find their present Account in being virtuous, that 'tis their *Interest* to be so, than that the Practice of *Virtue* should flow from any religious or moral Principle. Let us see how this Tally's with the grand Design of his Book. *The wise Rulers* ⁿ in *Holland* promote *Virtue* and *Frugality* among their Subjects, because it is, generally speaking, their *Interest* ^o. And again ^p, *It is their Interest to be frugal and spend little*. And yet private Vices are publick Benefits

^k See a Description of the *United Netherlands* by an *English Gentleman* p. 71. from these Words, *The old severe and frugal Way of living is now almost quite out of Date in Holland, &c.*

^l P. 206.

^m P. 207.

ⁿ P. 95.

^o P. 208.

^p P. 204.

every where ^q, and Luxury is his favourite Vice, by which he illustrates the Truth of this general Assertion. For *Frugality is like Honesty, a mean, starving Virtue, that is only fit for small Societies of good peaceable Men, who are contented to be poor, so they may be easy* ^r. Which will he give up? the Wisdom of his Country, or the Truth of his own Principle?

What led me chiefly to the mention of *Holland* was to shew, first, That the Soil of the Country there, as well as elsewhere, (let the Author suppose it bears never so small a Proportion to the necessary Food of the Inhabitants ^s;) is the real Source of their Wealth; it being the produce of the Soil managed and worked up for Exportation, and the Returns from thence, whether for home Consumption or further Exportation, that the Wealth of *Holland* consists in; and from thence to shew, 2^{dly}, That if through the Luxury of the Inhabitants they should consume the Fruits of their Soil and the Returns of them in a greater Proportion than their Income and Gain amount to, it will necessarily make them *poor*, as the same Conduct would a private Family. The Author may take Refuge in his fond Conceit, and fancy himself as secure in it as he pleases, that the Case of *Holland* differs from all the World besides, and that their particular *Necessities* obliged them to be frugal ^t. But 'twas the most unhappy Reason he could have given for their Conduct, with Regard to his own Scheme. For if the Necessities and Poverty of the *Dutch* made the Practice of Frugality their *Interest* ^u, and that the keeping up to that Policy, has raised them from Poverty, to the State of Wealth and Grandeur they now enjoy; why is it not as much the Interest of

^q The Title Page.
^u P. 204; 208.

^r P. 105.

^s P. 203.

^t From p. 203 to 209.

those Kingdoms to do so, who have none of those Wants to provide against? If the *Dutch* in their present Condition are oblig'd to be more frugal than their Neighbours, from the vast Expence they are at in Repairing their Dykes, the Weight of other Taxes, and the Scantiness of their Dominions; would not the same Frugality in their Neighbours, who have a greater Extent of Land, and no such Demands of Expence, keep them in a Condition still proportionably above them, and continue them still proportionably richer? To make this yet plainer from the Case of a private Man. Suppose a Man has a numerous Family, and but a small Spot of Ground to maintain them; though he is oblig'd to bestow a great Part of his Time and Labour in fencing the Ground against the Encroachment of the Sea, or in sheltring himself against the Plunder and Oppression of his richer and more powerful Neighbours; if, notwithstanding these Disadvantages, he lives upon a third Part of his little Revenue, 'tis possible that in length of Time he may grow a Match for them; but if his Neighbours who had a better Estate, and no such Inconveniencies to provide against, had in Proportion lived as frugally as he, 'tis impossible but they must have preserved themselves in the same Degree of Distance above him. Ay, but (says our Author) *all their Arts of saving, and penurious Way of Living, could never have enabled them to make Head against so potent an Enemy, if their Industry in promoting their Fishery and Navigation in general, had not helped to support the natural Wants and Disadvantages they laboured under*^x. 'Tis very true. In the same manner, the poor Man would not have grown rich so soon from the Product of his little Spot of Ground, *or have been able to make Head against his potent Enemies*, if his Situation had not pro-

cured him as much Fish as he wanted to supply his natural want of Beef and Mutton. For as the Author very well observes, a *Dutchman* won't starve for want of Flesh Meat, where there is Plenty of pickled Herrings. But how does this prove against the Usefulness of *Frugality*? Would not *Frugality* still assist them in growing rich, as much as if they had had no such Accession of Wealth? Frugality has the *same Use*, and will have the same Effects, in all Circumstances and Degrees of Wealth. 'Twas *the Interest of Holland to be frugal and spend little* ^y, but 'tis the Interest of *England* to be lavish and spend a great deal ^z. Why so? Because Frugality is so whimsical a Virtue, that it always makes a *poor Country rich*, and a *rich Country poor* ^a.

But, says the Author, private Families grow rich by the very opposite Method to that which enriches a Society. Though Luxury is beneficial to the Society, yet *it is undeniably the wisest Course for every Person in the Society, and for every private Family to be frugal* ^b. Luxury will enrich the *whole*, and make *every Part* poor. The great Courage of the *English* is owing to their eating of Beef, but the eating of Beef makes every individual *Englishman* a Coward; which no Body can Dispute the Truth of, if *Blessings are prejudicial* ^c, and a People grow beggarly by *too much Money* ^d; if

*When every Part is full of Vice,
The whole Mass be a Paradise.* ^e.

The grand Maxim upon which this Treatise of Luxury is founded, is, that Consumption breeds Riches; that Wealth is a kind of Hydra's Head, the

^y P. 204.

^z Ibid.

^a Read p. 204, 205.

^b P. 212.]

^c Blessings prejudicial.

See the Index under the Word Blessings.

^d P. 215.

^e P. 9.

more you endeavour to destroy it, the more it grows upon you. Now had this Author chanced to have lived at the Time when his Country was in the greatest Distress, what Time and Labour might not he have saved his Countrymen, by instructing them in this new Method of growing rich? What a happy Change would they have found, as soon as they had banished their *idle, dreaming Virtue* of Frugality^f? They thought indeed that Frugality was a *busy* Virtue; that the same Disposition of Mind that made Men frugal, would make them diligent and laborious; and accordingly some Way or other they certainly contrived to join Frugality and Industry together. But this Author would have made it plain to them, *that Frugality was like Honesty, a mean, starving Virtue, that 'twas fit only for small Societies of good peaceable Men, who were contented to be poor, but that in a large stirring Nation 'twas stark naught*^g. That *Holland* is a *stirring* Nation, I presume, is not to be denied: And that it has all the Conveniencies of a *large* Country, we are told elsewhere^h; and I never heard it was so crowded with *good and peaceable Men*, that the Country in general were *contented to be poor*, so any Way could be thought of for their growing rich; *their political Wisdom*, as he says, having been seen in *postponing every thing to Merchandize and Navigation*ⁱ. And therefore, notwithstanding what he says elsewhere, that it was *their Interest*^k *to be frugal and spend little*, I can't see but this was a proper Place enough for him to offer his Project. 'Tis so pretty and pleasant a Way to grow rich, that all the World must be prejudiced in favour of it beforehand. If he offered it any where now, it could not fail of Encouragement, provided he can but demon-

^f P. 105 and 106.^g P. 105.^h P. 201. The Dutch mayascribe *their present Grandeur*, &c. Ibid. So *considerable* among the principal Powers of Europe.ⁱ P. 201 and 202.^k P. 204.

strate it would have this Effect. The Name of *Columbus* will never be mentioned more, nor *the Philosopher's Stone* ever dreamt of again ; all will be lost in *the Fable of the Bees*, as long as that Kingdom rowls in Prodigality and Treasure. *England* by the meer Strength of its own Genius seems to have found out the Secret already ; for if Vice in general, and Luxury in particular, be the Road to Wealth, we bid fair for growing prodigiously rich.

That Honesty is a *mean, starving* Quality ¹, I own, to do him Justice, is not the greatest Paradox in his Book ; I could help him to the Name of a great Man or two that seem to have as *mean* an Opinion of it as he can have, and don't care for *starving* in a plentiful Country. To return.

As to the Instance of *Spain* or *Portugal*, the same Way of reasoning will hold, if Money be considered as any *other* Commodity, which in these Places it ought to be, because it is the Growth of the Soil that belongs to them. If the yearly Expence in either of those Countries exceeds the yearly Growth and Profit of their Soil, what has been said before must have the same Effect here. These Countries, as long as they neglect their other Commodities, and rely wholly upon their Money, are under a more particular Necessity of being frugal than others ; for as Money is not easily worn out or destroyed, their constant Importation of fresh Quantities of it into the trading World, does constantly lessen the Value of it : For as the Quantity of it encreases, it will purchase the fewer of other Commodities from their Neighbours, or (which is the same Thing) the Commodities they import will always grow in Value. For the Value of any Thing is the comparative Worth

of it to Money, as the Value of Money is rated by the Scarcity or Plenty of it. 'Tis in this Sense only true then, that the Discovery of their Mines has impoverished *Spain*; that is, they have over-rated their Money, and lived beyond the Income of it. For Money is no otherwise a Part of Wealth, than as, by the Consent of Mankind, it is endued with a Capacity of purchasing the Necessaries, Conveniencies, and Ornaments of Life. These were supplied to the *Spaniards* formerly (as in other Countries now) by the Fruits of their own Soil, improved by the Labour and Skill of their People; and supplied to them in a greater Proportion than their Money can purchase for them now. But as soon as that *Ocean of Treasure* came rowling in upon them, the Author says, it took away their Senses, and their Industry forsook them. The Farmer left his Plough, the Mechanick his Tools, the Merchant his Compting-House, and every Body scorning to work, took his Pleasure and turned Gentleman^m. And again, They sit with their Arms across, and wait every Year with Impatience and Anxiety, the Arrival of their Revenues from Abroad, to pay others for what they have spent alreadyⁿ. That is, in plain Terms, they have been extravagant and luxurious; for if they had not encreased their Expences, or abated of their usual Labour and Industry, more than in Proportion to this Increase of their Treasure, it is impossible the Importation of Money among them could have hurt them. Ay, but says the Author, besides that, from a rich People they are become a beggarly^o one; from a knowing^p, acute, diligent and laborious, they are become a slow, idle, and proud People^q. Why all these are the true, genuine, and natural Effects of Luxury. Too

^m P. 214.ⁿ P. 215.^o P. 215.^p Ibid.^q P. 214. l. 4.

much Indulgence in Ease and Pleasure weakens the Faculties of the Mind; and if it was not for fear of the Author's Censure and cleanly Ridicule ^r, one might say, *enervates* a People, both with Regard to their Bodies and Minds, besides many other Vices they naturally lead too. The Author has a most perverse Inclination to shift the Names and Definitions of Things, when he is giving an Account of the Plenty of Money in *Spain* (which is certainly *Wealth* as far as it goes.) He shews you the Effects of Luxury: When he is to give a Definition (as he calls it) of *Luxury*, as if he were at cross Purposes, he gives a very true Account of *Wealth* ^r; *for every Thing that is not immediately necessary to make Man subsist, as he is a living Creature, becomes a Part of his Wealth.* When any Man or any Society of Men have a greater Share of these than other People, they are comparatively *rich*. There must be an Abuse of these, or an Enjoyment of them beyond People's Circumstances to make them *Luxury*. These have both concurred in the Case of *Spain*, and they have produced the natural Effects of Luxury, they have made a *knowing, rich, acute, diligent and laborious, become a slow, idle, proud and beggarly People.*

Our Author's Talent at Definition is every where remarkable. I have met with a learned Writer not altogether unlike him, that has a strange Fancy to make his Definitions look like Riddles. What's that, says he, which consists in *a various Disposition of Images received before*? Why, a retailing Printseller's Shop as likely as any Thing, or a Sign-Painter's or a Statuary's Yard; or——— Hold, says the Author, you should have known without my telling you, that by *Images*, I

^r P. 118.

^r P. 108. If every Thing is to be *Luxury* (as in Strictness it ought) that is not immediately necessary, &c.

meant *Images* in the Mind. Guess again. With this fresh Instruction, and after some Doubt and Perplexity whether any thing at all was meant by it, you would guess, perhaps, 'twas the *Memory*, or rather an Endeavour to recollect a particular Thing that was forgot. Bite again, says the Author, 'tis a Definition of Thinking in general. Of Thinking, Sir? Why how did these *Images* that were *received before* there was any *various Disposition* of them get into the Mind at first? Were they received without Thought? No, perhaps not: There lyes the Riddle; *Thought* without *Thinking*, that is, 'twas a lucky *Thought* that put People first upon *Thinking*, as it was an Awe of their *Rulers* that first brought them into a State of *Government*. No doubt but you will immediately see your Error, and be ready to own there required a very *various Disposition* of a great many *Images received before*, to furnish out so accurate a Definition. Again, what is that in which there appears an *Aptitude of the Spirits*, by which they nimbly turn to, and dexterously dispose the *Images* that may serve our Purpose? 'Tis my Farce of *Dr. Faustus*, says Mr. Rich, or a *Puppet-Shew*. Not so quick, good Mr. Rich. Sir, it has no more relation to any modern Production of the Stage, than it has to the Conversation in a Masquerade, or than *Thinking* has to an *Opera*. Why, Sir, 'tis a Definition of *Wit*; and there's a great deal of *Wit* in the Definition too. The Thing points out itself. But says the critical Reader, you have only attempted to define the Cause instead of the Effect. A bare *Aptitude* of the Spirits can't be *Wit*, but according to you, must produce what we call *Wit*; unless a Man can be said to have hit the Mark, who has only his Bow ready bent for Shooting. Again, your Definitions look more like an Account of some Machine, than of the Faculties of a human Soul. Machine, Sir, why what d'ye take Men to be? Meer Machines, take my

Word

Word for it ; and those not of the cleverest sort neither. There are several Brutes of a much nobler Make, as a judicious Friend of mine has proved in a Dialogue between a Merchant and a Lyon ^f, particularly by one Argument, that he may challenge all *haughty Moralists*, and other Advocates for *the Dignity of their sublime Species* ^t to answer.

These two Definitions of *Wit* and *Thinking* may be seen in p. 164, and 129, and 130. of a *Treatise of the Hypochondriack Passions*, by B. de Mandeville, M.D.

I beg Pardon for this Digression, intended to shew the Similitude of Genius and Manner in these two Writers. But to return.

That the Condition *Spain* is reduced to, is owing only to *Luxury*, will appear yet plainer from the Author he quotes. *A Man* (says he) *would be laughed at by most People, who should maintain that too much Money could undo a Nation* ^u. But this, from his usual Inclination to Paradox, he is resolved to *maintain*; and to avoid the Laugh, brings in a grave *Spaniard*, who is to discountenance all Inclination to Merriment. *The learned Don Diego Saavedra ascribes the Ruin of his Country to too much Money.*

Saavedra writ a Piece call'd, *The Royal Politician*, it contains a hundred Emblems, by which he introduces his political Maxims. As that whole Paragraph in the *Fable of the Bees* ^x is borrowed from him, it will help us to discover what it is the Author refers to ; for the Expression of *too much Money* is no where in the Book,

^f See the Fable of the Bees, from p. 191. to p. 196.

^t P. 192. *Leo loquitur*, as to the Excellency of either Species, the Value of Things among you has ever increased with the Scarcity of them, and to a Million of Men there's hardly one Lyon. — Thus spoke the Lyon, and the Merchant (*unable to confute him*) fainted away, p. 196. The Reader may compare this with p. 29. of the Fable.

^u P. 213.

^x Ibid.

nor any thing equivalent to it. What he means is in the 69th Emblem. The Motto to it is *Ferro & Auro*, to shew how useles the former is without a sufficient Quantity of the latter. The whole Design of the Emblem is to point out the Mischiefs of Luxury, and the Necessity of Wealth. After having mentioned the Inconveniencies of Prodigality and Extravagance with Regard to the publick Treasure, he says, *Spain* had had long since the universal Empire of the World, if it had been less extravagant in War, and more regular and methodical in Peace: but through a certain Negligence, the usual Effect of Grandeur, it has suffered those Riches, which should have rendred it invincible, to be made Use of by other Nations^y: that the chief Wealth and Riches of Nations are the Fruits of the Earth^z; that these had formerly brought a vast Wealth to *Spain*; that the Discovery of their Mines had made them neglect this Source of their Wealth, and introduced a general Luxury among them; that when *Columbus* returned first laden with Gold, the People flock'd to the Shore to admire these precious Products of the Earth; that this great Plenty of them soon perverted all Things; the Husbandman soon leaves his Plough, gets into his embroidered Silks, and begins to be more curious of his tawny, sunburnt Hands; the Merchant steps from his Counter into his Sedan, and lolls it lazily about the Streets; Workmen disdain their Tools, and all forsooth must now turn Gentlemen^a. That this new Treasure was not an Equivalent for the Loss of their former, which was idly squandred away by depending too much upon the new, *Et divitiarum expectatio inter causas paupertatis publicæ erat*^b. That this did not only impoverish, but enervate them; it sunk their Valour as well as their

^y P. 156. Vol. 2. translated by Sir James Aspley, printed in 1700.

^z P. 157.

^a P. 158, and 159.

^b Tac. Ann.

Wealth^e, for *Luxu vires corrumpébantur*^d. That the only cure for these Evils is to grow frugal; for that *Frugality is the best Revenue*^e. That to bring this about a Prince should first regulate the Expences of his own Family, without which he can never reform those of his People^f.

There is more to the same Purpose in the 68th Emblem. Speaking of the Luxury in *Spain*, that drained them of their *Indian* Wealth, he refers to *Tacitus* for an Expression of *Tiberius* complaining of the Extravagance of the *Roman* Ladies in Pearls and Jewels, *Quid? Lapidum causa pecuniæ nostræ ad hostiles gentes transferuntur*^g. Again, in the 71st Emblem, to prove the mischievous Effects of Luxury upon the Temper and Courage of a People, he says, the Temples of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Hercules* (Deities glorious for their Virtue) were built to shew Labour and Industry, not Luxury and Ease^h. That no Prince ever enlarged his Territories by Effeminacy, Luxury and Easeⁱ, and that the Virtue and ardent Courage of Ancestors is fully extinguished in their Posterity by Luxury and Voluptuousness^k. That Citizens who carelessly give themselves up to Pleasure and Luxury are their greatest Enemies. That such Idleness plots against the Laws and Government, and is nourished by VICE, from whence proceed all the internal and external Misfortunes of States^l. After this one would wonder that the learned *Don Diego Saaavedra* should be quoted in a Treatise writ to prove the Usefulness of Vice; and in that particular Remark which is intended to shew the Mischiefs of Frugality^m.

^e P. 160.^g P. 148.^l P. 175.^d Tac.^h P. 171.^m The Remark Q.^e P. 162.ⁱ Ibid.^f P. 163.^k P. 172.

It is not then their *having* too much Money, but their *spending* it, that *Saavedra* finds Fault with.

But though the want of that Industry and Frugality that *Spain* had formerly in common with other Nations, has impoverished their Country, by draining them so fast and constantly of their Money, which they give in Exchange for those Commodities (those Conveniences and Ornaments of Life) which their Skill and Labour formerly drew from their own Soil; yet it can't be the Interest of *Spain* to prevent entirely the Exportation of their Coin. For as it is the Growth of the Soil that belongs to them, which constantly brings them in vast Supplies of it, their Money in Time would grow to be of no other Use to them, than 'tis in a private Family, where 'tis always hoarded up in Coffers, or at best worked up to Household Furniture. Money has no other worth in it, than as it is endued with a Property, by general Consent, to purchase other Commodities with. *Spain* then must always Trade with their Money.

From hence it appears, that Luxury, and Extravagance, and not *too much Money*, have impoverished *Spain*. This vast Accession of Treasure has had the same Effect upon *Spain*, that a Bequest of an Estate in Land may have on a private Man, who is in Possession of a flourishing Trade. If he grows idle upon it, and leaves off his Business, it is very possible he may find this Estate won't bring him in as large an Income as his Trade did before; but if he keeps on his Business, or abates only a little of his usual Care and Trouble, it can't be thought but he is the richer for this Estate, and may afford to live better than his Neighbour who has the same Trade, but has had no such good Fortune happen to him. For the same Reason exactly, the People of *Spain* will always have it in their Power to be the richest People in the World, if

they will condescend to make the same Advantages of their Soil, that other Countries do: Because, besides those Advantages of their own Soil, they have such a Fund of Treasure, as will purchase for them the utmost Elegancies, that the Soil of the whole World can procure for them. They need not be obliged to the *same* Industry and Frugality that other Countries are, to make them as *rich* as their Neighbours, though Luxury or too much Expence will infallibly make them *poor*.

Some Men have look'd upon Laws against the Exportation of Money as weak and impolitick in any Country. But this is a very great Mistake. For when there is any Call for the Exportation of Money from a Country where they have none of it of their own Growth, 'tis a Demonstration that that Trade is prejudicial; and Laws which make the Exportation of it difficult, will restrain the Luxury that gives Occasion for that Demand, or those Exceedings of Imports beyond the Exports; or (which brings it to the same Thing) they will prevent the Merchant Abroad from sending over more Goods in Value, than he receives in Goods, or the other from receiving them, since they find it so difficult to adjust this Balance or Exceedings. Indeed, where a Country can purchase such Goods, and such a Quantity of them, with their Money, as when exported to a third Place, will bring them in a greater Quantity of Money again, the Exportation of it will always be allowed: Because then they are only the Carriers, and are paid for it, but in all other Cases it can't be too strictly prohibited.

It has been objected, that such Laws would raise the Exchange to their Disadvantage. But this is a Consequence, not of the Laws *themselves*, but only of their proving ineffectual. This will appear plain from the Nature of Exchange.

When a Merchant abroad receives from a Merchant here 11,000 Pounds worth of Goods, and sends over only 10,000 Pounds worth, he is under an Obligation to pay the other 1000 some Way or other; and as from the Nature of the Trade, and the greater Demand of our Goods there, than of their Goods here, the Case is the same with all or most of their Merchants that Trade hither, it makes the Demand for Money so much greater in one Place than the other; by which Means they are content to pay a greater Quantity of Money there, to receive a less Quantity of Money here, to be made good to their Account in their Creditor's Books. The Balance at last must however be sent over in *Specie*; and it is the shifting off the Disadvantage and Hazard of this from one to another, that occasions, what we call, the high Price of Exchange. If the Exportation of Money were allowed in every Country, the Exchange would be only so much against any Place, as the Charge of carrying over the Balance amounts to. But where the Exportation of it is disallowed, the Exchange will rise against that Country, if the Balance of the Trade be against them, in Proportion to the Hazard that is run in the Exporting it; which, though it be a Disadvantage to that Country, yet prevents a greater Disadvantage, by preventing the Exceedings of Imports beyond the Exports; that is, by making such greater Importation difficult. If they could effectually prevent the Exportation of Money, the Balance of Trade could never be against them, because the Merchant here would not send more Goods to his Correspondent, than he knew he could be paid for in Goods again, which as it would be the Case of every single Merchant, so it would likewise be the Case of the whole Nation. For the Balance of national Trade, is the Balance of all the private Traders Accounts thrown together. What I
would

would infer from hence, is, that where the Exports are equal in Price to the Imports (which is the Effect intended by Laws to prevent the Exportation of Money) the Exchange will always be at *Par* ; where the Exports exceed the Imports, the Exchange will be to their Advantage, in Proportion as that Balance is so.

The *Use* or *Conveniency* of Exchange, is, that it saves the Trouble of carrying abroad or bringing home the Balance of every separate Trader's Account with his Correspondent, and only occasions the sending over or receiving the Balance of the whole national Trade. For Instance, *A*, *B*, and *C*, three *English* Merchants, have each sent abroad 11,000 Pounds worth of Goods to his foreign Correspondent, and received only 10,000 Pounds worth : The Balance due to each is 1,000 Pounds, which, if there were no such thing as *Exchange*, must be sent over in *Specie*. But then *D*. and *E*. two other *English* Merchants, having sent to the same Place only 10,000 Pounds worth each, and received 11,000 Pounds worth each, it comes to pass, that by their paying to *A*, *B*, and *C*, 2,000 Pounds (or as much more as is agreed upon between them) on account of their foreign Correspondent, there will remain only 1,000 Pounds to be sent over in *Specie*. This *Conveniency* may be extended yet farther, by Means of any third Nation that trades with both ; so that it may possibly happen, that even this thousand Pound need not be sent over in *Specie*. Suppose the thousand Pounds to be due to *A*. a Merchant of one Country, from *B*. of another Country, if *C*. of a third Country is Debtor a thousand Pounds to *B*. and Creditor in the same Sum to *A*. the Balance may be adjusted between them all without the Exportation of any *Specie* whatever.

It

It will be said, perhaps, that the laying very heavy Duties upon the Goods that are the Product of these Countries, the Trade with which is prejudicial, would turn the Balance of that Trade to Advantage, more than Laws to prevent the Exportation of Coin. The Discussion of this Question would carry me too much out of the Way at present. I am not writing a political Treatise upon Trade, but have only said so much of the Nature of it, as it is hoped will be sufficient to prove, that Luxury and Extravagance are always prejudicial, and to shew in what manner they are so; as likewise to shew that Laws against the Exportation of *Specie*, are truly and properly Sumptuary Laws, and calculated to prevent a People's spending more than their Income. However, as I have nowhere said, that Laws to prohibit the Exportation of Money would of *themselves* be effectual; so it is not likely that any other Methods, *without* such Laws, would signify any thing. The higher these Duties are, the greater Encouragement they give to Smuggling; and if the Profit arising from this sort of Traffick at present is so great, as to make Men despise the Dangers and Penalties of exporting Money to pay for those run Goods, the repealing those Laws, or abating of the Rigour of them, would encourage the Practice still more. The Value of Goods so run in *Great Britain* amounts to an immense Sum yearly, which besides the Disadvantage to the fair Trader, and the Loss of the Duty to the Publick, is of infinite Prejudice, from the Necessity it occasions of exporting our *Specie* to pay for them. For as the Temptation to smuggle Goods arises from the Greatness of that Duty, so the Greatness of that Duty, compared to the Duty upon other Goods, does or ought to arise only from the Disadvantage of importing them; and is intended to prevent the Exportation of Coin, to pay the Balance, that in an open
Trade,

Trade, would be due to that Country on the Score of those Commodities. Now smuggling prevents the good Effects of such Laws, and the Money so paid for these Goods, is commonly so much dead Loss to the Nation. But cheating the Publick in more Instances than this has quite lost its Name among us. Private Men, from a sort of Jealousy too common among them, think they are not always fairly dealt with in the Management of the publick Treasure, and from this mistaken Fact, take occasion to run into a yet stranger Latitude in Casuistry, and think they have a right to Reprizals by all the Methods they can lay hold of, which yet at last falls heavier upon them, with this only Advantage to them, that Men of more scrupulous Consciences than themselves, bear a proportionable Share of the Burthen of those Deficiencies, which they had no Hand in occasioning.

To conclude then as to the Effects of Luxury upon Trade and Wealth. Every Country is to the whole trading World, what any private Family is to that Country. The most frugal in each will, from the very Nature and Course of Trade, receive Advantages from, and gain Power upon the more extravagant; for national Power is a certain Attendant upon national Wealth. Against this the Author objects, that though *England* should by consuming half the Quantity of foreign Goods they do now, receive the other half in Gold and Silver, yet this could only be done for a Time, and that *it is impossible it should last*ⁿ. Perhaps it would not last always in the same Proportion; but that can be no Reason why *England* should not take the Advantage of it as long as it does last. If any one should be Fool enough to throw his Money about the Streets, which

another might have for stooping for, it would be no Reason why he should not be at the Pains of stooping; only because he knows the other wont always continue to throw about his Money, but that the Sense of his Necessities or Folly may sometime or other make him stop his Hand. Now the Case is much stronger here, for there never will be wanting People enough in the trading World, addicted to *the noble Sin of Prodigality*, who will indulge themselves in *that agreeable good natured Vice that makes the Chimney smook, and all the Tradesmen smile* °, and the Wealth so lavished away, the more wary and frugal will always receive to themselves. But is the frugal Society the poorer for these Advantages, because there may possibly be an end to them? If all the trading World were to grow frugal at once, would not they that were frugal before, still be upon a Level with them at least? Or would it become the Wisdom of a Society, as soon as the rest of the World grew frugal too, to alter their Conduct, and throw away their Wealth to keep up a Round of *Prodigality*, that so *noble a Sin* might not be quite extinct? And yet this is the utmost weight of the Objection. Why does not he go to a Secretary of State, and advise him to drop his Politicks, to lay aside his Schemes for advancing the Power and Wealth of his Country, because the People he has to do with, won't always continue to be outdone by him? As superior Skill will always get the better of weaker Politicks, so will Frugality reap Advantages from the Luxury of their Neighbours; and there never will be such a Scarcity of the one as to make the other grow *useless*, much less change its Nature and become *impolitick*. Frugality is WISDOM, and the truest Politicks that any Nation can practise.

As the Author has *had the Mortification for several Years to find sensible People against this Opinion*, he tells you this Mortification was sufficiently made Amends for at last, by *the Pleasure* he conceived at the passing of *the Button Act* ^p, which, he is sure, was owing to the same Way of Thinking that gave Birth to his Treatise upon Luxury. This he flies to as his last Refuge; an *Asylum*, where he knew no Body durst follow him. But it was not fair in him to quote a Law, the Importance and Wisdom of which it is not safe to dispute.

If to this Account of Luxury the Author should object that I have only shewn the Mischiefs of such a Degree, or such a sort of Luxury, as he himself has not defended, he having allowed that the Imports should never exceed the Exports ^q; I answer, that this Caution, like others in his Book, quite overturns all he had been saying before. For the certain necessary Effect of Luxury, or rather the very Thing meant by Luxury, is, that how much soever the Balance of Trade has been to the Advantage of a Nation, it turns that Balance against them, and makes the Imports exceed the Exports. If he only means, that a People will never grow the poorer, as long as the Imports do not exceed the Exports, his Assertion is equivalent to this, that *a private Man won't grow poor, as long as he lives within his Income*. And even in that Case, if the Income of his Estate be laid out in debauching his Family and Servants, by whose Labour his Income is what it is, that very Income will by Degrees lessen, and consequently, without any greater Expence than before, he will grow every Year poorer. Besides, an eager Pursuit after Pleasure, and a studied

Delicacy in the Way of living, almost necessarily run into Extravagance. But suppose it to be otherwise, that is, that there may be *Luxury* without *Extravagance*, is this the only sort of *Luxury* he contends for? Was *the Fable of the Bees*, or private VICES publick BENEFITS, writ to prove that there is no Danger of spending too much as long as you keep what you have? His Business is to prove, that *Luxury* of every sort *enriches* a Nation; to point out the Inconveniencies of that *mean, starving Virtue*, *Frugality*^r; to shew the great Advantages of the *noble Sin*, *Prodigality*^f, and to make it appear, that *Lavishness* is a most beneficial Vice to the Publick^t. Now if any one should write a Treatise to shew private Men *the Way to grow rich*, (for the Case is exactly the same)^f if to give the Reader a greater Notion of his Abilities for this useful Task, he should tell him that he *had seen a great deal of the World*^u; that he had *searched thro' every Degree and Station of Men*^w; that he could discern a *Chain of Causes* further than the rest of Mankind^x; and if, after all, his Proofs should mount to nothing more than this, that *if they live within Compass, they need not fear spending of their Estates*; let the Author fancy to himself, in what manner Persons of unquestionable good Sense^y would divert themselves with such a Treatise, and from thence he may form a Judgment of his own Performance.

It is not surely by spending his *whole* Income, that a Man grows *rich*, though by not spending *more* than his Income, he will preserve himself from growing *poor*.

Every greater Degree of *Luxury* therefore will create a greater Degree of *Poverty* in a Nation, or at least it will in Proportion prevent their growing rich. I have

^r P. 105.
Edition.
^y P. 467.

^f P. 10 and 103.
^u P. 118.

^t Contents to the first
^w P. 163.
^x P. 89.

been so long upon the Subject already, that I shall leave the further Illustration of this Truth to a Hand the Reader will like much better. I mean Sir *William Temple* in his *Observations upon the United Provinces*, the Treatise our Author referred to so judiciously before.

After having shewn in what manner *Parfimony* enriches a Nation, he says^z, ‘ By this we find out the Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*. For never any Country traded so much, and consumed so little: They buy infinitely, but it is to sell again, either upon Improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. He goes on to say, that they live upon their worst Commodities, and export the best to other Countries. ‘ In short, they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practise; and traffick in Pleasures which they never taste.’ What I mention this for, is to introduce his Reflection upon their Conduct. Among other Instances of false Politicks in his Time it seems this was one.

‘ By all this Account of their Trade and Riches, it will appear, that some of our Maxims are not so certain, as they are current, in our common Politicks. As first, that Example and Encouragement of Excess and Luxury, if employed in the Consumption of native Commodities, is of Advantage to Trade: It may be so to that which impoverishes, but is not to that which enriches a Country; and is indeed less prejudicial, if it lye in native than in foreign Wares. But the Custom or Humour of Luxury and Expence, cannot stop at certain Bounds: What begins in native will proceed in foreign Commodities: and though the Example arise among idle Persons, yet the Imitation

^z P. 66. This is a Description of their Conduct in *Holland*, before they were tainted with the Luxury he complains of in p. 62.

‘ will run into all Degrees, even of those Men by whose
 ‘ Industry the Nation subsists. And besides, the more
 ‘ of our own we spend, the less we shall have to send
 ‘ Abroad ; and so it will come to pass, that while we
 ‘ drive a vast Trade, yet, by buying much more than
 ‘ we sell, we shall come to be poor.

A general Luxury then will certainly occasion a general Poverty, however slow the Progress of it may appear. But there’s another Consequence of national Luxury that will not require so much Time to bring it about. Whenever it becomes a general Vice, and People’s Incomes are not sufficient to supply their Extravagancies, any Crimes will be attempted, and any Hazards run to support them. A Poverty occasioned by Vice and Luxury is not like to make Men more honest for the future. Thus at last they must come to Terms with their Governors, and purchase the Indulgence of their Vices, at the Price of their Liberties. Where the Liberties of the People are intrusted in a few Hands, and they themselves give into this Luxury, the Danger of this will be still greater. As the Purchase will come at an easier Rate, so the Consideration that they themselves share only a common Portion of Slavery, and at the same Time engross the whole Price that is paid for Liberty, will hinder them from insisting upon very rigorous Terms. Poverty is of no sort of Use to a Man in making a Bargain, especially when he is dealing with a Minister of State. If the Necessities of a luxurious People, and the Ambition of designing Governors should ever meet, the Consequence seems to be inevitable. A small share of Reading will supply any one with Instances enough to this Purpose ; and an Encouragement of Luxury has never been thought an unlikely Method to bring about those Ends. In short, if Luxury consists in the Abuse of Plenty, or in an Excess of *Ease, Pleasure, and Expence*, it will infallibly *enervate,*

vate, debauch, and impoverish a People, of which Slavery is a necessary Consequence. Besides, nothing is more prejudicial to a People, than a sudden shifting of Property from one to another, even when the whole remains still in the Community; which yet is impossible in a trading Country, when this Change of Circumstances is the Effect of Luxury. If the poorest People were to acquire any large Share of Property from the great and wealthy, the Labour and Service of each would be in a good Measure lost to the Publick. For by this Change of their Condition, each of them would be unfit to fill that Station of Life their present Circumstances put them into. The Experience of a better Way of living in the one, and the actual Possession of Wealth in the other, would disqualify them both for the lower or more laborious sorts of Employment; whilst the want of present Property in the one, and of Knowledge and Education in the other, would incapacitate both for higher Offices. Few Men know how to make a proper Use of new got Wealth. There must be a previous Education, a long Habit and suitable way of Thinking, to fit Men for the great Stations of Life. Wealth, and Power its constant Attendants, will be but awkwardly managed by Men, who from their low Situation have always been Strangers to both. The *South-Sea* Directors would make but a very indifferent Privy-Council.

It has been a Custom of long standing in the World, to compliment Nobility with a Portion of hereditary Virtue, derived to them without the least Trouble of their own, which People in lower Life must be at the Pains to acquire by Education and Reflection, and be content after all to have such adventitious Virtue kept at a due Distance in the Opinion of the World from that other natural fort which their Betters have conveyed to them with their Blood. Now whether the Nobility
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of any one Age of the World really happened to have a more than ordinary Share of Virtue, and by that means entailed this Piece of Flattery upon their Successors ; or whether it was at first only the servile Language of their own Dependants ; or whether it was intended as a moral Instruction, to point out to them what Virtues they ought to have, and so convince them of the greater Obligation they were under to pursue the publick Good, as the Happiness of many others was intrusted with them, and depended upon their Conduct ; (or whatever the Reason was, it is needless at this time to enquire) but our modern Quality seem to be generously inclined to undeceive the World, and effectually convince them, that they have really no such innate Virtue belonging to them. Notwithstanding this, ancient and hereditary Honours must be allowed to have this publick Use attending them : That they create a sort of Pleasure or Vanity in the Owners of them, to preserve that Constitution and People which many of their Ancestors have formerly been instrumental in the Support of, or under which at least they had appeared with Splendor, or filled any considerable Stations ; the Merit or Lustre of whose Actions, by the Courtesy of the World, becomes their own Due. This creates some kind of Affection for their Country, a sort of Fondness, like that for a Family Estate, which we often see influences a Man's Conduct, when more reasonable Motives have lost all Weight with him. When to this Consideration is joined a large Share of Property, which at once puts them above Temptation, and gives them a *particular* Interest in the Welfare of the whole, we may, without supposing Men of Quality possessed of much in-born Virtue, generally expect their publick Behaviour to be honest and upright, as far as it regards the Safety of the Constitution they live under. But Luxury
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and

and Prodigality produce the reverse of all this. When a Nobility are become poor, though a Prince should have so much Virtue as not to lay hold of that Opportunity for enlarging the Prerogative, and entrenching upon the Liberties of his People, it must however lay him under a Necessity of creating a new Nobility, who have not these Ties of Affection, none of that Prejudice in favour of the Constitution. 'Twould be easy to illustrate this Matter further, if there were Occasion.

As to Laws that forbid the Use of Ornaments^o, or other Expences that are not absolutely necessary to Life and Subsistence, the Wisdom and Policy of them may be judged of by what has been said already. The first Care that any People will naturally take, is to provide Necessaries and Conveniencies, and to secure themselves against Invasion and Encroachment. When these Ends are effectually obtained and secured to them, for their Governors to forbid the Acquisition or Use of Ornaments, is only to forbid them to grow *rich*. What's called *Wealth*, consists only in Ornaments. Now that Wealth tends to Happiness, one would think should not need much Proof; but whether it does or no, it does not come within the present Enquiry, it is sufficient if it be proved that Virtue does not beget Poverty.

S E C T. IV.

ANother Instance brought to prove the Usefulness of Vice is the Custom of Duelling. Now it will be readily allowed him, that the Practice of good Manners among us, (for want of more effectual Restraints) is in Abundance of People owing to the Fear of being called to an Account by the injured Person for the contrary Behaviour. But to say it is impossible People should behave politely to one another without it ^a, is to contradict both Reason and Experience.

Though perhaps it might be difficult to shew how Duelling first became fashionable, 'tis easy to account for its continuing so, without the Interposition of the Magistrate to prevent it. The fear of Shame, and the Prospect of Honour, are both very powerful Motives to human Actions : and as long as the first is the certain Consequence of a Refusal, and the latter is thought to accompany the giving, or at least the Acceptance of a Challenge, we are not to wonder if Instances of this sort frequently happen. Christianity indeed bids us have Respect to a better Recompence, and consequently a more reasonable Motive to our Actions, than the Applause of the World. But we are not obliged to exclude the Pleasure arising from the other.

We are told by the wisest of Men, what a Value we ought to set upon the Esteem and good Opinion of the World ^b ; and *David* makes this reasonable Request to Heaven, that God would please to *remove from him Reproach and Contempt* ^c. Indeed without this Regard and Esteem, it is impossible to fill any Station of Life with Advantage to the rest of Mankind. Thus

^a P. 242 and 243.
^c Psal. cxix, 22.

^b Prov. xxii, 1. and Eccles. vii, 1.

St. Paul thought it of great Consequence to *Titus*, in the Office he was employed in, and worthy his utmost Care, that he should not suffer himself to be *despised*^d: and accordingly he makes it a sufficient Objection against any Man's being made a Bishop of the Church (however blameless he may be in himself) that he has not the *good Report* of the World^e.

Since then the Desire of Applause is so natural to Mankind, and so reasonable in itself, 'tis the Business of the Magistrate to endeavour, as far as possible, that this Applause should be the Reward only of good and beneficial Actions.

Few Men, as *Puffendorf* observes^f, can think in so abstracted a manner, as to take Comfort in *Grotius's* Way of Reasoning, that *since Honour is an Opinion of Excellence, and he that suffers such an Injury*, (the Injury he means is a Box o'the Ear) *shews himself excellently patient, he rather increases than lessens his Honour by it*. * For though this may possibly be the *true* Notion of Honour, (in which Opinion of it too we find *Tully* agrees^g) yet another sort of Honour now has usurped the Place of this (such a one as the same Author describes in the next Words^h) which, through the Corruption of the Times, has the same Regard paid to it. He who does not conform to the Rules of modern Honour, lies under as great or greater Disad-

^d Tit. ii. 15.

^e 1 Tim. iii. 7.

^f Puffend. L. 2. C. 5. S. 12.

* Grot. de Jur. Bel. & Pac. L. 2. C. 1. Par. 10.

^g *Is autem qui vere appellari potest Honos, non Invitamentum ad Tempus, sed perpetua virtutis est premium.* Epist. L. 10. Epist. 10. And again, *Gloria est consentiens Laus bonorum, incorrupta Vox bene Judicantium de eccellente Virtute. Ea virtuti resonat, tamquam Imago.* Tusc. Quæst. L. 3.

^h *Illa autem quæ se ejus imitatricem esse vult, temeraria atque inconsiderata & plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis, simulatione honestatis formam ejus pulchritudinemque corrumpit.* What follows is applicable to the same Purpose. But I am afraid our modern Duellists have not so good an Excuse for their Conduct. *Qua cecitate homines cum quadam etiam præclara cuperent, eaque nescirent, nec ubi nec qualia essent, funditus alii everterunt suas Civitates, alii ipsi occiderunt. Atque Hi quidem optima petentes, non tam voluntate quam cursu errore falluntur.*

vantages in the Eye of the World, than if he acted contrary to those of Virtue. 'Tis easy to determine, how a Man strictly virtuous *ought* to behave in such a Difficulty, much more a Christian who is bound to forgive Injuries in a greater Degree than the Laws of Nature oblige him toⁱ. But this won't excuse the Magistrate in not preventing, as far as possible, the *Difficulty* itself. He should not suffer the Practice of Religion, and a strict Obedience to his own Laws, to lye under so great a Discouragement as the ill Opinion of the People. There are few Countries, I believe, where the Custom of Duelling is not forbid by the Laws. Now it would be highly unjust as well as impolitick, to punish with great Severity the Resentment of Wrongs and Injuries, without providing at the same Time against the Commission of them, and securing to Mankind so great a Conveniency as the Practice of good Manners among them.

King *James* I. in his Treatise, which he calls, *A Publication of his Edict against private Combats*, says, the Reason that was given by the most judicious among the *French*, why the Edicts there against Duels had prov'd unsuccessful, was, ' The great Haste used by
' the State itself in prohibiting them with unspeakable
' Severity, before that any Course or Order were set
' down for Reparation to the Party grieved or distem-
' per'd, in some such Measure as might be thought to
' be suitable^k.

To supply this Defect in *England*, he appointed a Commission of Lords, all of the Privy Council, to draw up such Regulations as they should think fit, for

ⁱ Matt. v. 43, 44. *Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy Neighbour, and hate thine Enemy. But I say unto you, &c.*

^k A Publication of his Majesty's Edict against private Combats, p. 15.

the Reparation of Affronts and Injuries among Gentlemen. All Differences within twenty Miles of *London* to be referr'd to them, and those at a greater Distance to the Lord Lieutenant and his Deputies, who were to determine according to the Regulations drawn up by the Lords. The famous Edict of the late King of *France* seems to be built upon this very Plan. It will be wondred perhaps, what occasioned the different Success of one and 'tother : but each will be found to have answered the End designed by them. The one has totally suppress'd the Practice of Duelling in *France*, the other gave his Majesty's Subjects of *Great Britain* an Opportunity of admiring his Scholarship. The one is writ with the Solemnity of a Law, the other in the Language of a Schoolman. And tho' Historians don't say that Duels were less frequent, or good Breeding more observed from that Time, yet Mr. *Cambden* tells us, that four Year after this *his Majesty made an eloquent Speech against Duels* ¹. Besides, the King himself gives a very good Reason why his Edict did not effectually put an end to the Practice. After having said that, ' The *Saxons* laid a Fine of five Shillings upon every one that misgreeted his Countryman : He adds, ' that in *France* and the Arch-Duke's Dominions, the ' first reproachful Term, *Quod dat esse pugnae*, which ' gives the very Life and Being to a Quarrel, is raised ' to so high a Rate, as in Comparison of those our ' Censures are conceived to be but Flea-bitings^m. ' He proceeds thus ; ' These sharp Ways of proceeding ' bring forth one notable Effect, that rarely in seven ' Years a Man shall hear in *Spain*, of the passing of any

¹ *Cambden's Annals of James I. Ann. 1617.*

^m P. 48. One Penalty was, that the Person offending should be put out of the Commission of the Peace, and if not in the Commission at that Time, that he should not be put in in seven Years. See p. 54, and 55. 'Twas a Punishment much more likely to make Challenges unfashionable, that the King appoints in p. 113. *To be hereafter banished the Court of Us, our dearest Bedfellow, and the Prince our Son, for the Space of seven Years,*

' such

‘ such reproachful Word or Accusation between Persons of good Sort, that may provoke them to those personal Revenges.

By these Regulations in *France*, not only Blows and the groffer Sort of ill Language, but all lesser Affronts, and even the most distant Provocations to a Quarrel were punished with great Severity. Besides which, the Offender was obliged to make a very humble Submission to the Party grieved. And it is apparently true in Fact, that the Fear of those severe Punishments, and the Shame attending them, have kept People within the Bounds of good Manners, as effectually as the Fear of being called upon to fight did before.

I am afraid, *England* all this while (notwithstanding the Indulgence People have had to shew their Valour by Challenge, as much as they pleased) has not gone beyond the *French* in Point of good Breeding ; and yet the Prevention of Duelling was much more difficult there, than it could be here. ’Twas a Distemper among them almost as general as a Plague. We are told, that in ten Years time there had been above six thousand Pardons granted for Murders committed by Duels.

The Regulations above were published in the Year 1653. The following Year somewhat of this kind was again attempted here in *England* by *Oliver Cromwell* : but the Punishment and Redress of Injuries were such as were not likely to put a Stop to the Practice. ’Tis ordained by this Ordinance, *that any Person using any disgraceful, provoking Words or Gestures, should be liable to an Indictment at the Goal Delivery, or general Sessions of the Peace* ⁿ, and the Judge or Justices of the Peace

ⁿ See *Scobell's Collections of Acts and Ordinances*, p. 319. *June 1654.* against Challenges, Duels, and all Provocations thereunto.

were to impose a Fine to be levied to the Use of his Highness the Lord Protector and his Successors ; and upon Consideration had, both of the Quality of the Person injured, and the Offence committed, Reparation was to be made to the Party wronged, as to the Judge or Justices should seem meet ; whose Knowledge of the Laws (especially such Judges and Justices as they were) could be of no great Use to them in settling the Punctilio's of Honour. What had been so lately done in *France* might have furnished them with likelier Methods for the suppressing of Duels.

There was one Circumstance, that contributed not a little to the giving a Check to this Practice. That the King's Edicts might prove the more effectual, vast Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom entred into a voluntary Association or Subscription, by which they solemnly bound themselves never to give or accept a Challenge. And among the Rules for determining Differences, one is, that if a Quarrel should happen between two Gentlemen, of which one had *subscribed*, and the other not, the latter should always be reputed the Aggressor, except there appeared evident Proofs to the contrary. By these and other Methods, the not giving or refusing a Challenge became not at all scandalous.

But all the Provisions hitherto mentioned would have been found very insufficient, without decreeing the severest Punishment for the Breach of this Law, and taking care it should be rigorously executed. And that there might be no way to escape, all Rencounters where there appeared to be any previous Affront from either of the Parties (of which immediate Information had not been made to the proper Magistrate) were punished in the same manner as Duels upon Challenge. And though they were fought in other Countries, they were considered as if they had happened in *France*. So
great

great an Alteration in the Customs of a Country could not be effected at once. The first Ediſt of the late King's in the Year 1646, being a very ſevere one, and accompanied with the *Subscription* or Association mentioned above, begun to give a Check to it; and the King's inflexible Reſolution never to pardon any Offence againſt it, ſtill made a greater Progreſs. The famous Ediſt in 1679 gave the finiſhing Stroke to it, in the Preamble to which the King attributes the Succeſs of his former Ediſts to ' the Steadfaſtneſs it had pleaſed God to give him in maintaining the Statutes againſt Duels and private Combats in their utmoſt Severity, and that by reſolving to do ſo for the future, he had Ground to hope he might be able during his Reign utterly to aboliſh that Crime, after it had been in vain attempted by the Kings, his Predeceſſors.

The Show of Courage in moſt Men is proportioned only to the Degree of Hazard they run : and when they have nothing to fear but the Skill and Strength of their Adverſary, which by a moderate Computation, leave them nine Chances in ten for eſcaping with their Lives, it is no wonder Inſtances of ſingle Combat happen ſo frequently. Beſides, that this Hazard of Death is commonly very much leſſened in the Opinion of the angry Gentlemen concerned by an unreaſonable Contempt of their Adverſary, and an unjuſt Preference of their own Abilities to his. But if Men were once made ſenſible, that the Hazard of being killed in the Combat was the leaſt Part of the Danger they incurred ; that as certainly as they fought, ſo certainly they ſhould not eſcape Death, both from their Adverſary's Weapons and the Severity of the Law, in all Probability there would be fewer Swords drawn than we ſee at preſent. We are told of a Method uſed by a Mareſchal of *France* to ſuppreſs Duels and Quarrels in his Army, that bears a little hard upon the Courage of ſingle Combatants.

Combatants. He ordered that the Scene of Action should always be upon a narrow Bridge without Rails, and that Guards should be placed at each End to prevent a Retreat. The Design of it was to give the Champions their Choice, to die by each other's Sword, or be drowned^o.

That the Certainty of capital Punishment would prevent a great deal of this Practice, appears from hence. Fearlessness of an Adversary is look'd upon as Courage, and as such is accompanied with the Applause of the World : But shewing a Contempt of the Gallows would gain a Man no other Reputation for Bravery, than it is in every one's Power to attain to, by coining of Money, or taking a Purse. A Man is not a Jot the better esteemed for sitting astride a Pinnacle; nor would his Memory be the more regarded, if upon his receiving any Affront from another, any Disappointment or ill Usage from the World, he should venture to beat out his own Brains. Now the fighting an Adversary with a Certainty to be hanged for it, would be looked upon much like such another Piece of Courage.

I shall only observe further, that though the Law in this Particular is the same now it was some Ages ago, yet either the Interpretation or the Execution of it is vastly different. Had there been the same Security formerly for coming off upon Trial, they would scarce have thought it worth while (as it was their common Practice) to retire out of the *British* Dominions to execute a Challenge.

I believe it would be difficult to assign any Reason, why the same Methods that have been found so effectual to the putting an end to this Vice in *France*, should

^o See *Cockburn* upon Duels, p. 346.

not meet with a proportionable Success here. If no other Provision were made, it should, one would think, be at least taken Care of, that Men should not be obliged to quit the profitable Employments they are bred to (perhaps the only Means they have to subsist upon) and be turned loose to the World to starve, for *refusing* what by the Laws of their Country they are liable to be hang'd for if they *comply* with. Either let the Laws be repealed, or don't let the Observance, instead of the Breach of them, be punished with so much Cruelty. What a strange Interpretation this is of the Opinion of St. Paul, who told People, that if they obeyed the Laws, they had so little Reason to fear the Resentment of the Magistrate, that they had a Right to receive Praise, that is, *Honour* at his Hands ^P! But to return to the Fable.

If the Custom of Duelling was reckoned a *political* Evil in France, and the putting an End to it esteemed a *publick* Benefit, what should hinder it from being the Interest of other Countries to suppress it by the same Methods? Can he mention any one Conveniency attending the Custom of Duelling, which that Kingdom is deprived of, by the Success of the King's Edicts? And if not, has the Author any Pretence to urge this Crime in support of his Scheme? Did that Monarch think it one of the greatest Glories of his Reign to destroy a *publick* Benefit? He, who in *Feats of Arms* has outdone Alexander and Cæsar both, in *embellishing his Kingdom*, and *polishing his Nation*, has exceeded Augustus; and shewed himself, both at Home and Abroad, a deeper Politician than Tiberius ^Q? Who has done Miracles that no other Politician was ever able to perform ^R?

^P Rom. xiii. 3. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is Good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same.

^Q The Virgin unmask'd, by Bernard Mandeville, Author of the Fable of the Bees, p. 127. Edit. 2.

^R Ibid. p. 148.

Or was it his Religion in this Instance that over-ruled his Politicks? That would be stranger still; for at the same Time, we are told, he was a *wicked Tyrant*^f.

I have said, that the Practice of good Manners, for want of *more effectual Restraints*, was owing to the Fear of being called to an Account for the contrary Behaviour. For besides that, these more effectual Restraints were actually experienced in *France*, and would, no doubt, prove effectual elsewhere, it is certain, that a strict Regard to Virtue and Morality would *more effectually* cure the Inconveniencies complained of than either of them. We are now enquiring what would be the Consequences of a strict and universal Morality: and if good Manners, Courtesy, Affability, and a quiet Disposition come into the Number of moral Virtues, (as certainly they ought) all the Conveniencies and happy Effects of these upon a Society, ought to be ascribed to the Practice of Morality. The Spirit of Virtue, as well as Religion, is mild and gentle. To be courteous, peaceable, quiet, not provoking one another, to avoid Bitterness, Wrath, Clamour, and ill Language, are the Precepts of natural Reason, confirmed to us by Revelation. And it is an Instruction in Point of Prudence and present Conveniency, as well as Duty, to be well bred, from the great Hazard Men run from the contrary Behaviour^g. Nay, *Solomon* tells us, that Honour itself confirms those Lessons of Religion and Prudence^h.

If then we put the Instance before us in the strongest Light in favour of the Author and his Opinions, it can't serve the grand Purpose of his Scheme. For if

^f Ibid. p. 127.

^g Psal. xxxiv. 12, 13. *What Man is he that desireth Life, and loveth many Days, that he may see Good? Keep thy Tongue from Evil, and thy Lips from speaking Guile.* And 1 Pet. iii. 10.

^h Prov. xx. 3. *It is an Honour for a Man to cease from Strife.*

it should be allowed him (though it is far from being true) that a Toleration of some Crimes in a general Depravity of Manners, is the likeliest Means to prevent greater Crimes, or greater Inconveniencies, and that this should be true particularly in the Case of *Duelling*; yet it is far from shewing the *Usefulness* of such Depravity or Vice; it rather demonstrates the vast Mischief of it, as something that makes a Toleration of lesser Inconveniencies *necessary*. And, I presume, it won't be denied, that a punctual Regard to Virtue in all its Branches, would prevent all the Inconveniencies, which for want of that Virtue, it is supposed to be the Duty of the Magistrate to cure by less innocent, as well as less effectual Remedies.

Whatever the Author may think fit to urge for himself by way of Apology, the Design of his Book is not to shew the Folly of *Quarrelling at what no human Prudence can prevent* *, but to shew the Folly of *preventing* such Evil at all. Though no *human* Prudence can extirpate all Evil, he won't deny, surely, that the Power of Heaven can work such a *Miracle*. And he is all along ridiculing People's Folly, not for desiring an impossible Thing; but for procuring *in fact*, by Miracle, such a general Virtue, and consequently such a general Poverty. If his Design had been otherwise, though it might appear less impious and shocking, it would certainly appear more weak and impertinent. The Position laid down in his Title Page, to be proved in the Course of his Work, is, that *private Vices are publick Benefits*. Now if to prove this Position, all that he attempts to shew is, that let the Magistrate do what he can to root out Vice, he can't do this so *effectually*, but that *some* will still remain; the Reader

must certainly think, that he has advanced a Principle which he *durst not* maintain, or if he did intend to maintain it, that his Arguments for that Purpose are excessively *weak*. He will come off very well, if he only falls under *one Part* of the Censure. But what his Designs were, I shall have Occasion to observe more at large by and by.

What a Pleasure to him it is to abuse any thing that is called a moral Virtue, though it be at his own Expence ! *To be at once well bred and sincere is a Contradiction* ^y. If he were asked which of the two inconsistent Qualities, *good Breeding* or *Sincerity*, he chooses to part with in his ordinary Conversation and Friendships, it would puzzle him to answer it. But the Reader will determine it for him, for *good Breeding* every Man will expect in a Companion, though the want of the other may be better concealed.

One Word more before we leave this Subject of Honour. *Tully* we find makes the Difference between Virtue and Honour to be this, that Honour is the Applause the judicious part of the World bestow upon the Practice of Virtue ; which the Reader, it is likely, will think a pretty good Account of the Matter, only that it is a kind of Honour, like *the Worship of Diana*, somewhat *out of Fashion* ^z. But the Difference between Virtue and Honour upon the present Foot, and the disproportionate Numbers of their Votaries is adjusted with great Exactness by the Author of *the Fable*. *The Reason why there are so few Men of real Virtue, and so many of real Honour, is, because all the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleasure of doing it, which most People reckon but poor Pay ; but the Self-denial a Man of Honour submits to in one Appetite, is immediately rewarded by the Satisfaction he*

^y P. 227.

^z P. 342.

receives from another ^a. That is, the Reason why there are so few Men of real Virtue, and so many of real Honour, is, that the Recompence of the first is the Pleasure of doing it, the Reward of the last the Satisfaction received from it. The first *most People reckon but poor Pay*, the last all Men know to be a very substantial Reward. This is not a Mistake in Expression; it is a Blunder that his way of Thinking necessarily doom'd him to. For no doubt but *the Pleasure* of doing an Action, is the only Motive human Nature can act upon. It is what we have in View, and can't but have in View, in every individual Circumstance of our Lives. And this the worst *System of Ethicks* ^b he could have picked out, might have told him; nay more, his own Book might have set him right ^c.

^a P. 246.^b P. 467.

^c P. 401. There is no Difference between Will and Pleasure in one Sense, and every Motion made in spight of them must be unnatural and convulsive. *And just before*, It is impossible that Man, mere fallen Man, should act with any other View but to please himself.

Man, MERE FALLEN MAN, says he. *How dull and contemptible must such a Joke upon any other Subject than Religion have been thought! For the sake of this Ridicule he has made arrant Nonsense of the whole Sentence.* To act with a View to please himself, is so far from being the Indication of a fallen State, from being a Mark of Imperfection in our Make, that it is impossible for us as much as to conceive that Angels themselves, or any more perfect Being, should act upon any other Motive; let the Cause of that Pleasure be what it will.

S E C T. V.

SINCE we are told *the Fable of the Bees is a Rhapsody void of Order or Method* ^a, the Reader can't expect any exact Connexion or Regularity to be observed in the Answer to it. This is the only Excuse I shall make for taking this Occasion to give some Account of the Author's Opinions, with Regard both to

^a P. 467.

Morality and Religion; and as to the first, to shew how many Writers, and what *kind* of Writers he is obliged to for this lovely Scheme, which he will give you his Word for, is *beyond any other System of Ethicks* *; and to shew likewise in what a weak, inconsistent, prevaricating manner he has defended those Opinions.

Now the Opinions themselves, allowing for some little Improvement of his own upon them, are of very old Date. They seem to have had their Rise with Atheism itself.

Theodorus surnamed *Atheus* (and who was indeed one of the first upon Record, who, in so many Words, denied the Being of a God) professed among other Opinions very like our Author's, *that Theft, Adultery, and Sacrilege, were proper in their Season, there being no Turpitude in such Things in their own Nature, separate from Opinion, which was agreed upon to keep Fools in Order* ^b; *that a wise Man might openly use the Persons he loved with a good Countenance, and then by an ingenious Argument, endeavours to shew the Innocency of such Commerce with either Sex as you liked best. That Friendship and a Regard for your Country were foolish and ridiculous. A part of this Doctrine he learnt from his Master Aristippus; that there was nothing just, or excellent, or shameful in its Nature, but as Law and Custom made it so* ^h; *that there was no such thing as*

* P. 467.

^f He lived about the Year 360 before Christ. *Diagoras* who was dignified in the same manner, lived about a hundred Years before him. *Diagoras, Atheos qui dictus est, posteaque Theodorus, nonne aperte Deorum Naturam susculerunt?* Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. 1.

^g Κλέψαν τε καὶ μοιχεύσαν, &c. Diog. Laert. in the Life of *Aristippus*. Compare this with the Fable of the Bees from these Words; *The first Rudiments of Morality broached by skilful Politicians*, p. 33. And p. 373. I shall examine into the Reality of the pulchrum & honestum:—The meaning of this is to discuss, whether there be a real Worth and Excellency in Things, a Pre-eminence of one above another. And p. 380. The hunting after this pulchrum & honestum, is not much better than a wild-Goose-Chase.

^h Μόδον τε εἶνα φύσιν δίκαιον. Diog. Laert. ibid.

Kindness, Friendship, or Beneficence, and that they were only practised upon a selfish Principle, and that they had no Being without it.

Bion Borysthenites was a Scholar of this *Theodorus*, and in his Opinions and Practices full as wicked as himself: but when he found himself near his End, he who had made a Jest of the Gods, and ridiculed Men for the Worship of them, died not only with all the Horror which a Sense of Guilt could give him, but fell into the lowest Superstition, and among other Instances of it, of which there is a particular Account ⁱ, had an old Woman to try Charms upon him.

The Doctrine of *Pyrrho*, who lived about the same Time, was much to the same Purpose. He said, *There was nothing excellent, or shameful, or just, or unjust* ^k; and so of other Things; that there was nothing in Reality, but that Men did every Thing from Law and Custom, that one Thing was not rather to be chosen than another; or as the Author of the *Fable* has stumbled upon a pretty good Explanation of his Words, there is *no real Worth and Excellency in things, no Pre-eminence of one above another* ^l. His Life, we are told in the next Words, was agreeable to his Opinions. From this *Pyrrho*, *Scepticks* were called *Pyrrhonians*, or *Pyrrhonists*; and from hence that Treatise of *Sextus Empiricus* ^m had its Name; in one Part of which he endeavours to overturn the Certainty of Right and Wrong, Virtue and Vice, by collecting a great many monstrous Opinions and Customs of People contrary to the common ones. From hence, or rather from *Montaigne* ⁿ,

ⁱ *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of *Bion*.

^k Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπιδέχεται οὔτε καλόν, &c. *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of *Pyrrho*.

^l P. 373.

^m *Pyrrhon. Hypotypof.*

ⁿ *Moral Eff. L. I. c. 22.*

who has borrowed it from hence, has our Author again borrowed what he has given us to the same Purpose, and in Pursuit of the same laudable End °.

Much of the same kind is the Disputation of *Carneades* in *Lactantius* ^p. *Jura sibi homines pro utilitate sanxisse, scilicet varia pro moribus, & apud eosdem pro temporibus saepe mutata*; in short, that there is no such thing as natural Right or Justice, or if there be, that none but a Fool would practise them ^p.

To this Purpose is that Expression of *Horace*, *ipsa utilitas justi prope mater & aequi* ^a. He is exposing the Absurdity of that Opinion of the *Stoicks*, defended by *Tully* ^r, *aqualia esse peccata* ^r; but, says he, when you come to the Proof of it, *sensus moresque repugnant, atque ipsa utilitas justi prope mater & aequi*. Now if there be a Difference in Faults, it is a Proof in itself, that the *justum & aequum*, have their Original in the very Nature of Things, and do not arise from Profit or Convenience. He confutes himself yet more plainly afterwards. *Jura inventa metu injusti fateri necesse est, Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi. Nec natura potest justo secernere iniquum, Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis*: He then adds, *Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantumdem ut peccet, idemque, Qui teneros caules alieni infregerit horti, Et qui nocturnus Divum sacra legerit*. He means somewhat more than barely, that Reason does not prove the Crimes to be the same; he means that Reason does

° See his Search into the Nature of Society, from these Words, *In Morals there is no greater Certainty, &c.* p. 379. This was the common Argument against the intrinsic Difference of Good and Evil in *Cicero's* Time. *Sed perturbat nos Opinionum Varietas hominumque dissentio: & quia non idem conringit in sensibus, hos natura certos putamus: illa, quae aliis sic, aliis secus, nec isdem semper uno modo videntur, ficta esse dicimus. Quod est longe aliter. &c.* de Leg. l. 1. c. 17.

^p Lact. L. 5. c. 16.

^a Hor. Sat. L. 1. Sat. 3. v. 98.

^r Paradox. 3.

^r V. 96.

shew the contrary, and if Reason does shew this Difference, the same Light of Reason will evince yet more strongly the Difference between Right and Wrong. It is impossible that he who has no Notion of a *strait* Line, should determine which Lines are *most* crooked. Without supposing the first, it is absurd to say there is any such Thing as the last. *Adsit regula*, says he, *peccatis quæ penas irroget æquas*. Nature or Reason is that Rule, which as it makes a Difference between Right and Wrong, so between the Degrees of Wrong. That, *Jura inventa metu injusti*, does not prove at all against this : For besides that, a *Justum* must be supposed before the Fear of the contrary could subsist ; the most that can be inferred from it, is, that all Men would not be prevailed upon to practise this natural *Justice*, without the Assistance of human Laws, or rather Punishments to oblige them to it.

But among all these vile and atheistical Opinions, we don't find that the Professors of them ever carried the Matter so far, as to think the Practice of Vice and Wickedness for the good of Mankind in general. Indeed *Theodorus* and *Bion* ^t did all they could to recommend them, and to make all Virtues, and especially Modesty ^u, appear odious and contemptible : But then it was only from the Pleasure that attended the Practice of Wickedness, and the natural Indifference between one Action and another. They had not yet discovered, that Vice and Roguery were *publick Benefits* ; much less

^t *Neque enim scelera laudare satis reputabant nisi virtutes omnes, & imprimis modestiam, in publicum odium & contemptum protraherent. vid. Parkeri Disputationes de Deo. p. 21.*

^u Compare this with p. 153. of the Fable, where he is ridiculing the Simplicity of those, who, by the Contrivance of skilful Moralists, are taught to conceal or disguise their darling Passion, *Lust*. *Oh ! the mighty Prize we have in View for all our Self-denial ! Can any Man be so serious as to abstain from Laughter, &c.*

do we find any elaborate Treatises writ to prove so monstrous an Opinion. This Discovery seems to have been reserved for the happy Invention of *Englishmen*; and from the Creation downward, there has been no Point of Time more proper for the Discovery of this Opinion, than that of the grand Rebellion; an Opinion, to which Men could so easily reconcile their hellish Practices. At that Time there were some who asserted roundly, ‘ That the Acts of Lying, Stealing, Cozen-
 ‘ ing and Defrauding others; that the Acts of Mur-
 ‘ ther, Adultery, Incest, Fornication, Uncleannefs,
 ‘ Sodomy, and Drunkennefs, were not Things in
 ‘ themselves shameful or wicked, but as holy and
 ‘ righteous as any religious Duties: That all HAPPINESS
 ‘ consisted in the acting these Things; and that there was
 ‘ no such Thing really and truly as Unrighteousnefs or
 ‘ Sin, but as People judged of them.

It is amazing that these comfortable Opinions should not gain more Profelytes. But so low and infamous were the Authors of them look’d upon, that History has not preserved their very Names to us, and we can only know that there were such Men, by a publick Act, that even the Governors of those Times thought themselves obliged to pass against all such *atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable Opinions* ^w, with an Assurance only in the Preamble that such had been lately broached. And from hence our Author seems to have borrowed what was wanting in the Systems of *Aristippus, Theodorus, Bion, Pyrrho*, and *Sextus Empiricus*, towards compleating that beautiful Plan delivered to us in *the Fable of the Bees*. I own it is possible our Author may not have gone so far for these Opinions; they have been copied by several *French* Writers, and, with great

^w See *Scobell's* Collections of Acts and Ordinances, *August* 1650.

Skill and good Language, spread through their whole Works.

The Opinions condemned above were consistent and uniform. But the Author of the *Fable*, though in some Places he has defended these Notions in the same Latitude with his Predecessors, yet has thought it proper, for Reasons that will appear by and by, to insert so many Cautions and Limitations, to scatter up and down such awkward Excuses for himself and his Work, as the Reader will certainly believe to be as inconsistent with his real Opinions, as these Opinions are with common Sense or Honesty.

It is one of his favourite Opinions, that in every Country there ought to be a Toleration of *Publick Stews*, or *Temples of Venus*. The Magistrate must connive at them, but he must not encourage them; he ought to tolerate them, but still continue to abominate them. And then from the Instance of *Holland*, he tells you, the Magistrates do well, to be *always squeezing them of their immoderate Gains, punishing those necessary Profligates, the Bawds and Panders* ^x, and laying them under all possible Marks of Infamy. But surely, if they do so much Service to the Publick, it should rather be the Duty of the Magistrate upon *his* Principles to erect Statues to their Honour. For the same Reasons that plead for a *Toleration*, are equally strong for all possible *Encouragement* that can be shewn them. The Reason he gives why they should be *tolerated*, is ^y to prevent a much greater Crime, that of Adultery. The more Reputation therefore Stews are in, the less Occasion (according to his Scheme) there should be for Adultery. For a Toleration of these *Temples of Ve-*

^y P. 97.

^x P. 98.

nus^z, is not, I presume, upon the same Foot with a Toleration of meer speculative Errors in Religion, which it is the Duty of the Magistrate barely to *allow* of, but not to *encourage*. As much as we have heard of *natural Rights* of late Years, I don't remember it has ever yet been gravely asserted in print, that a Liberty of Whoring comes into the Number of them. If then it be only the good Policy of the Governors (as a Means to prevent Adultery) that this Toleration is owing to, it ought to reach much further, and Whores, Bawds, and Panders, so far from being laid under particular Hardships and Discouragements, ought to be put upon the same Foot with all other worthy Promoters of the Commonwealth.

Adultery it seems is the Mischief to be provided against. *Adultery* then (though it be a very heinous Crime) is prejudicial to Society. Now if lesser Vices are to be indulged only as they prevent *greater ones*, it would be the Duty of the Magistrate to extirpate *all* sort of Vice if he could, and by the most innocent Methods possible. For if *Prevention* of Vice be the End proposed, it is his Duty to *prevent* every Degree of it. But this is contrary to his whole Scheme: for the Extirpation of Vice and Roguery, is the Evil and Folly he complains of. He does not, as was observed just now, blame his *grumbling Hive* for taking *improper Methods* to root out Vice, but for rooting it out *at all*; that is, for making a *rich* and *thriving* Hive to become an *honest* one, and consequently a *poor* one. What a fine consistent System of *Ethicks* is this! Whores are of great Service to a Commonwealth, and yet it is the Duty of the Magistrate upon *State Principles*, to lay Whores and their Keepers under unequal Taxes,

^z P. 97. The Musick in these Temples of Venus is performed by Organs, &c.

Hardships and Discouragements! All *private Vices* are *publick Benefits*; but it is the Duty of the Magistrate upon *State Principles* to prevent Adultery, by allowing of Fornication!

It would be tedious to take particular Notice of all such shuffling Passages; those that follow will serve as a Specimen of the rest.

Rogues are very pernicious to *human Society*, and every Government ought to take all imaginable Care to root out and destroy them ^a. It follows in the next Words, yet if all People were strictly honest, Smiths and other Tradesmen would want Employment, and all that depend upon Vice would starve ^b. And again, *The Moment Evil ceases, the Society is spoiled, if not totally dissolved* ^c. It seems, it is the Duty of the Magistrate to take all imaginable Care to do, what, if he can do effectually, he is sure will ruin his Country.

He is far from encouraging Vice ^d, and yet they are the worst of Women, and the most profligate of their Sex, that are the most beneficial ^e.

Players and other dissolute People, Gluttons, Epicures, Parasites, Pimps, Sharpers, Pickpockets, Coiners, Fortune-Tellers, and such like, are certainly the Bane of civil Society ^f, and yet Evil moral as well as natural is the solid Basis, the Life and Support of all Trades and Employments without Exception, the true Origin of all Arts and Sciences ^g.

He does not bid Men be vicious ^h, but he gives them warning, that the Moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled, if not totally dissolved ⁱ.

He never said, nor imagined, that Man could not be virtuous as well in a rich and mighty Kingdom, as in the most pitiful Commonwealth; but he owns it is his Sense,

^a P. 82.^b P. 81.^c P. 428.^d P. 95.^e P. 250.^f P. 49. Line 1.^g P. 428.^h P. 257. Line 20.ⁱ P. 428,

that no Society can be raised into such a rich and mighty Kingdom, or so raised, subsist in their Wealth and Power for any considerable Time, without the Vices of Man ^k.

That is, in plain Words, he is not so naughty as to imagine, that Man could not be virtuous in a rich and mighty Kingdom, as well as elsewhere; all his Sense is, that it is impossible it should be a rich and mighty Kingdom where Man is virtuous.

Though by telling People that *Honesty is a mean, starving Principle* ^l, he has shewn the Way to worldly Greatness ^m, yet he desires no Body to make any Inferences from them ⁿ.

He lays it down as a first Principle, that in all Societies, great and small, it is the Duty of every Member of it to be good; Virtue ought to be encouraged, and Vice discountenanced ^o. Why so? Because no Vice is ever able to shake the Constitution ^p. Every Member ought to be good, because when every Part is full of Vice, the whole Mass will be a Paradise ^q.

Virtue ought to be encouraged, and Vice discountenanced, and yet, Good will spring up, and pullulate from Evil as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs ^r; that is, it is the Duty of the Magistrate to encourage the Breed of Chickens, but he must, do all he can, to discountenance the laying of Eggs.

'Tis plain then, these softening Expressions are not thrust in to explain the rest of his Book (unless Contradicting be Explaining) but to serve some other Purpose. Whenever he should be charged with the Wickedness of his Opinions, though it would be difficult to defend them, it might be easy however to quote other Expressions that are very harmless, or at worst such as are nothing to the Purpose. This is in fact the common Use

^k P. 255.

^o P. 255.

^r P. 89.

^l P. 105.

^p P. 116. at the Bottom.

^m P. 258.

ⁿ Pref. p. 9.

^q The Fable, p. 9.

he makes of them, in (what he calls) his *Vindication*. For Instance.

He tells you he has been charged with Impiety, in asserting, that moral *Evil* constitutes the Happiness of Mankind, that *it is the solid Basis, &c.* *These Words*, he owns, *are in the Book, and being both innocent and true, are like to remain there* ^f. To prove them innocent, he cites another Passage, in which he says, most of the ingenious Things Mankind have found out, have been *to assist their Weakness, or supply their Wants; than which* (as he says of another Place) *it must be owned nothing can be more harmless* ^t. Upon this he breaks out into a judicious Surprize, *but what Relation has all this to Religion or Infidelity, more than it has to Navigation or the Peace in the North* ^u? Why truly scarce so much: But I hope it is not the Readers Fault it is not more to the Purpose. There can be no Harm in asserting, that *all human Happiness consists in Roguery*, because if Men could have any Thing brought them only for wishing for, and could be carried over the World upon a *Pegasus*, there would be no Occasion for Shipping or Post-Chaises. *It is from the Necessities of Men that Trades arise* ^w; for as he very well observes, if there were no *Wants*, how could they be *supplied* ^x? After this with what becoming Insolence does he look down upon Mankind, and bid them, in the next Words, *not meddle with Books above their Sphere* ^y?

He is so confident, that this will pass with the courteous Reader for a sufficient Defence of himself and his Opinions, that he can't help talking in Triumph over his Adversary, and pointing out the future Honours that shall be paid to his Work. The offensive Passage

^f P. 464.

^t P. 468.

^u P. 466.

^w P. 467.

^x P. 424. Whilst we are employed in supplying the infinite Variety of our Wants.

^y P. 467.

is to remain there *in all future Impressions*^a. No doubt on't ; he feels all the Pleasure as well as Uneasiness of his *Friend Horace*^b. He writes to late Posterity, *Ego postera crescā laude recens* ; and all People of Knowledge and Education^c, of elevated Minds^d, of great Probity and Virtue, and unquestionable good Sense^e, will continue to read his Book with fresh Pleasure. He sees Immortality in his Work ; for as he is satisfied it has diverted Persons of unquestionable good Sense already, he is in no Fear that it will ever cease to do so^f.

He is sensible that any Defence of Vice and Wickedness, more ingenious it is, the more mischievous it is ; therefore with Regard to any good, well-meaning Men that may complain of his Book, he is so kind as to promise, that he would never quarrel with the Man who should tell him it might as well have been let alone ; yet he always thought (and with very good Reason too) it would please Men of any tolerable Taste, and not be easily lost^g.

After this it is odds but the Reader agrees with him in the Words that immediately follow, that *his Vanity he could never conquer so well as could be wished*^h ; and yet after all, how does he know but it might be that very Vanity that diverted the Persons he means ?

^a P. 464.

^b P. 386, I felt all the Uneasiness my Friend *Horace* complains of, &c.

^c P. 467.

^d P. 470. I write not to many, nor seek for any Well-wishers, but among the few that— have their Minds elevated above the Vulgar. See the whole Passage. The infamous Vanini (who we shall hear by and by died a Martyr for Atheism) made just such another Speech for himself and his Opinions, *Quæ a me scribuntur, quo a vulgo sunt remotiora, eo propinquiora calumniæ.*

^e P. 467.

^f P. 467, 468. Such as it is, I am satisfied that it has diverted Persons of great Probity and Virtue, and unquestionable good Sense ; and I am in no fear that it will ever cease to do so whilst it is read by such.

^g P. 472. I would never quarrel with the Man who should tell me that it might as well have been let alone ; yet I always thought it would please Men of any tolerable Taste, and not be easily lost.

^h P. 472.

If the Reader would know upon what it is he grounds his Hopes, what are the particular Excellencies of the Work that give him this pleasing Prospect, let him take them as the Author has pointed them out with great Eloquence himself. Whoever has been used to run over the Advertisements at the end of our weekly Papers, can't be unacquainted with the Stile, for it is writ in the true Spirit of a Quack Bill.

After having assured the Reader that *the Fable of the Bees* was designed for the Entertainment, not of the Vulgar, but of People of Knowledge and Education, he goes on, *It is a Book of severe and exalted Morality, that contains a strict Test of Virtue, an infallible Touchstone to distinguish the real from the counterfeited, and shews many Actions to be faulty that are palmed upon the World for good ones: It describes the Nature and Symptoms of human Passions, detects their Force and Disguises; and traces Self-love in its darkest Recesses; I might safely add (that is, if his Modesty would let him) beyond any other System of Ethicks*ⁱ.

He had before acquainted the Reader with his Abilities for this great Work. In Page 118. he says, with an affected Modesty, that *he has seen something of the World*, which he explains afterwards in a Stile more natural to him, *I have searched through every Degree and Station of Men*^k. Again, *The short-sighted Vulgar in the Chain of Causes seldom can see further than one Link*^l. Then with a pretty Variety of Expression, intimates to you, how different his own Case is from that of the Vulgar; that he, by *gazing* much (not on the Chain of Causes, but) *on the Prospect of concatenated Events*, is arrived to that Perfection, that he can plainly see *Good spring up and pullulate from Evil*, exactly in the manner

the rest of the World see *Chickens pullulate from Eggs*, or painted Butterflies grow out of ill-favoured Maggots : That he has acquired great *Skill in anatomizing the invisible Part of Man*^m, and that he *can see a Man think*, and tell you what he thinks, or very near it, as *plainly as he can see the Nose in his Face*ⁿ.

After all this the Reader will be surprized to find he could humble himself so far as to put his Parts and Abilities upon a Level with those of *Montaigne*. *It was said of Montaigne that he was pretty well versed in the Defects of Mankind, but unacquainted with the Excellencies of human Nature : If I fare no worse I shall think myself well used*^o. I have heard of some low Retainers to *Westminster-Hall*, who are remarkable for understanding only the *wrong* side of the Law. Understanding the *wrong* Side of human Nature seems to be a Character of the same Kind. You see he has a great Mind to pass for such another as *Montaigne*. He knew he had but one Chance for it, and that was by pilfering from him wherever he had an Opportunity. This he has done with no sparing Hand. So that his Book in many Places is indeed very like *Montaigne's*, a perfect *Alter Idem*. *Mr. Bayle* has been extreamly useful to him in the same manner. *Mr. Esprit*^p too he has been mighty free with; and very often *Roche-foucault*^q. So that the Author of this *infallible Touchstone*, this new *System of Ethicks, beyond any other*, will come out to be very little more than a Retailer of other Men's Impieties, and that sometimes at the third and fourth Hand.

But who is this penetrating Genius, that his Ambition and Vanity put him upon thinking he resembles ?

^m P. 153.

ⁿ P. 409. I have seen a Man think all this, or something like it, as plainly, as I could see the Nose in his Face.

^o Pref. p. 3 and 4.

^q Moral Reflections.

^p *Mr. Esprit's la faussete des Vertus humaines.*

Why, but an entertaining Trifler at best, and very often not that. There appears perhaps at first sight a Variety of Knowledge and Reading in his Works. The Reason is, that other Writers are content to give you as much of their Knowledge, as is to the present Purpose. This Author tells you all that he knows, and all he thinks, not upon *that Subject*, but at *that Time*, without taking it for any Objection that it serves to no Purpose at all.

The taxing him with *Impiety*, puts me in mind of another Piece of Vanity of his, more insufferable than any that has been yet taken Notice of. *The Fable of the Bees* is not only a very ingenious, clever, learned Piece, that must *please Men of any tolerable Taste, and not be easily lost*^r: But what is using the Reader still worse, he says, you must consider it as a very virtuous, good, and pious Treatise, as a *Book of severe and exalted Morality, that has diverted Persons of Probity, as well as unquestionable good Sense*^t.

Both these Characters he insists upon, and the great Merit due to him upon both Accounts, he displays to you in the following Passage. After having said that he writes to those *who have their Minds elevated above the Vulgar*^u, he goes on; *If I have shewn the Way to worldly Greatness, I have always, without Hesitation, preferred the Road that leads to Virtue*^v. The meaning is this. ‘ Tho’ I have in the foregoing Treatise shewn ‘ myself greatly skill’d in State Affairs, by pointing out to ‘ *Magistrates and Politicians*^w the Way that will infal- ‘ libly carry a Society to the highest Pitch of worldly ‘ Greatness, yet (such is my Regard to Virtue) I have ‘ bid them beware how they follow these Maxims; ‘ though I have demonstrated, that Poverty is the ne-

^r P. 472.
^w P. 469.

^t P. 467.

^u P. 257 and 258.

^v P. 258.

‘ necessary Effect of Virtue, as Wealth and Grandeur are
 ‘ the Consequence of well-practised Roguery, yet I
 ‘ don’t bid Men be vicious ; on the other Side, I have
 ‘ always bid them prefer that *starving* Principle of Ho-
 ‘ nesty to any Considerations of Riches or worldly
 ‘ Greatness. *There is not a Line in the Book that con-*
 ‘ *tradicts this Doctrine, and I defy my Enemies to dis-*
 ‘ *prove it* *.’ Who would have thought so great and
 so good a Man could have had any Enemies at all ?
 But since such there are, who are probably malicious
 enough to deny that *the Fable of the Bees*, at least, can
 entitle him to either Part of the Character, if he would
 allow me to advise him, he should compound the Mat-
 ter with them, and drop one of these Pretensions for
 the better Security of the other.

If then, in Compliment to the Author’s Parts, it
 should be said that he was drawn into the Inconsisten-
 cies mentioned before, from the fear of defending his
 Opinions in that Latitude in which they were first
 broached ; yet even in this View he is extremely unhap-
 py in his Conduct, (as indeed he is seldom consistent in
 any thing;) for in some Places he has asserted what a-
 mounts to as much, and in others has *exalted* his Scheme
 to a still greater Height.

‘ That the Acts of Lying, Stealing, Coufening and
 ‘ Defrauding others, the Acts of Murder, Adultery,
 ‘ Incest, Fornication, Uncleanness, Sodomy, Drun-
 ‘ keness, &c. were not Things in themselves
 ‘ shameful or wicked, but as People judged of them,
 ‘ were the Opinions asserted long ago.’ In his
 Search into the Nature of Society, he says, he
shall examine into the Reality of the pulchrum &
honestum, the Τὸ καλὸν that the Ancients have talked

of so much. The meaning of this is to discuss whether there be a real Worth and Excellency in things, a Pre-eminence of one above another^y; this he determines in the Negative. For as the *pulchrum* & *honestum* depend entirely upon Opinion, the hunting after them is not much better than a wild Goose-Chase that is but little to be depended upon^z. But the Disappointment you will meet with in this Hunt, is not the greatest Fault he finds with it. No doubt but the Hunt itself is mischievous; any Enquiry into Virtue and Honesty is of dreadful Consequence. Upon what Scheme of Principles then is it that he has always, without Hesitation, preferred the Road that leads to Virtue?

It being the Interest then of the very worst of them, more than any, to preach up Publick-spiritedness, that they might reap the Fruits of the Labour and Self-denial of others, and at the same Time indulge their own Appetites with less Disturbance, they agreed with the rest, to call every thing, which, without Regard to the Publick, Man should commit to gratify any of his Appetites, VICE—— and to give the Name of VIRTUE to every Performance, by which Man, contrary to the Impulse of Nature, should endeavour the Benefit of others, or the Conquest of his own Passions out of a rational Ambition of being good^a. What a Heap of absurd Impiety is here! 'Tis not enough that the first Notions of Virtue were started to serve the ambitious Purposes of Politicians^b, but the very worst of Men, the greatest Rascals of their kind, must join in carrying on the moral Cheat. That Virtue and Vice were in their own Nature indifferent, had been asserted before; he must improve upon this, and tell you, that Vice is preferable to Virtue, because

^y P. 373.^z P. 380.^a P. 349^b P. 33.

Virtue is contrary to the very *Impulse of Nature*. After all this it is easy to understand his Sneer, that People act *contrary to this Impulse of Nature, out of a rational Ambition of being good*. But to prevent all Possibility of Mistake, he has explained himself at large in another Place. *Oh! the mighty Prize we have in View for all our Self-denial! Can any Man be so serious as to abstain from Laughter, when he considers that for so much Deceit and Insincerity practised upon our selves as well as others, we have no other Recompence than the vain Satisfaction of making our Species appear more exalted and remote from that of other Animals, than it really is; and we in our Consciences know it to be^c and yet he, good Man! is apt to bow down to Virtue, when he meets with such fair Instances of Self-denial^d. All the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleasure of doing it, which most People reckon but poor Pay^e, and what is worse, it seems, they are cheated even in that, and are paid in false Coin; for the Pleasure they receive is the arrantest Jest in Nature. And yet in all he has said, he has preferred the Road that leads to Virtue!*

To guard against any immoral Inferences that might be drawn from his Principles, as if he were an Encourager of Vice, he tells you, he *does not say that the particular Members of Society who are guilty of any Vices should not be continually reprov'd, or not be punished for them when they grow into Crimes^f*. The Distinction between *Vices* and *Crimes* is somewhat new, and truly worthy such a *Book of severe and exalted Morality*. The meaning is this; let Men be as vicious as they will, it

^c P. 153, 154.

^d P. 164.

^e P. 246.

^f Pref. p. 9. Of the same kind is that Expression in p. 255. and repeated in his Defence, p. 470. that Vice ought to be *discountenanced*, the Laws obeyed, and the Transgressors punished.

is the Duty of the Magistrate only to *reprove* them (and why it should be his Duty to do even that, is as hard to guess) but never to *punish* them till they commit some Crime against the State; for Vices are so far from being Crimes against the State, that they are *publick Benefits*.

But when he came to apply his Maxim to the Government and People of *England*^g, he thought perhaps it would be too shocking to go about proving to them, that *to be wicked* and *to be happy* meant the same thing, though this is certainly included in the other. He durst not write distinct Essays to prove, *that the Acts of Murder, Adultery, Incest, Sodomy, &c.* were the Things human Happiness consisted in: But he has endeavoured to shew, that the less enormous Vices of Pride^h, Luxuryⁱ, Extravagance^k, Extortion^l, Pilfering, Robbing, House-breaking^m, Lewdnessⁿ, &c. are highly beneficial: That without the Vices of Man, no Society can become great or flourishing, nor continue so^o. He thinks he has demonstrated, that Evil, *moral* as well as *natural*, is the solid Basis^p, &c: And to encourage the Practice of it, tells you, that *no Vice is ever able to shake the Constitution*^q; nay that the very Reverse is true; for *the Moment Evil ceases, the Society must be spoiled, if not totally dissolved*^r.

But if the Reader should not think these sufficient Intimations of his meaning, he must have Recourse to the *Fable* itself, where every Line will explain it. As this is only an Allegory in which he is more at Liberty, it is the likeliest Place to find his real Opinions. Now the Hive, whose Happiness he proposes as a Pattern for the People of *England* to endeavour at, were

^g Pref. p. 4.

^k Remark K.

^p P. 255.

^h Remark M.

^l Remark I.

^r P. 427, 428.

^m P. 82.

^q P. 116.

ⁱ Remark L.

ⁿ P. 250.

^r P. 428.

so excessively wicked, that it was impossible to repeat all their Frauds ^f, But in short

—Every Part was full of Vice,
And the whole Mass a Paradise ^t.

The Author judged very right, when he thought it would be suspected, that *the Remarks* were not writ for *the Fable*, but *the Fable* to introduce *the Remarks* ^u, and to serve as a Key to them. Indeed the *Fable* itself is too wretched a Performance to deserve a Commentary.

When moral Virtue has met with such Usage from him, it is no wonder Religion should not fare better at his Hands. It is indeed a much less Crime, not only against his fellow Creatures, but the Divine Being itself, to burlesque or deny Revelation, than to root up and destroy the first Principles of Virtue and Goodness, to decry Morality as the Invention of the *worst* of Men for the better *Indulgence* of their *Lusts* ^w, as the *Offspring* of *Flattery* begot upon *Pride* ^x, or in other Words the *Offspring* of *Roguery* begot upon *Folly*; or at best as an Engine of State to serve the Purposes of Ambition, and to make Slaves of Mankind ^y; to say there is no such Thing in reality as any *pulchrum* & *honestum*, no real Worth and Excellency in Things, no Pre-eminence of one above another ^z; but that all depends upon the
Mode

^f P. 8.

^t P. 9.

^u Pref. p. 8.

^w P. 34.—The very worst of them—that they might indulge their own Appetites with less Disturbance—agreed, &c.

^x P. 37. The moral Virtues are the political Offspring which Flattery begot upon Pride.

^y P. 33. The first Rudiments of Morality—were chiefly contrived that the Ambitious might reap the more Benefit from, and govern vast Numbers with greater Ease and Security.

^z The Foundation of Religion lies in that Difference between the Acts of Men, which distinguishes them into good, evil, indifferent. For if there is such a Difference there must be Religion, & contra. *The Religion of Nature delineated*, p. 7. And Tully in the same manner makes it to be the only possible

Mode and Fashion^a. To point out the temporal Inconveniencies (which he knew to be the likeliest Motives to persuade) the Ruin, the Poverty, and all the mischievous Consequences, that, he says, must attend the general Practice of Virtue^b, to ridicule the only Rewards he thinks are due to it, to represent them as below the Notice or Pursuit of wise Men, and fit only for Madmen and Cullies^c: I say, to do all this (which the Reader, by consulting the Pages referred to, may see I have not endeavoured to exaggerate) must certainly have a greater Share of Guilt, than ridiculing or opposing particular Passages in Scripture, or even denying the Truth of Revelation itself. But he can do both these, and more than these.

We are told in *Genesis*, that God said to Man as soon as he was created, *Have DOMINION over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth*^d. But this it seems is false: For *what Nature designs, she executes*.—If she had intended that Man, as Man from a Superiority of Species, should LORD it over all other Animals, the Tiger, nay the Whale and the Eagle, would have obeyed his Voice^e. How little Learning or Philosophy demolishes the Bible! *Moses's Account of the Creation* can't be true; for you may whistle to Tigers, Whales, and Eagles as

possible Foundation of Morality, *Non opinione sed natura constitutum esse jus*. de Leg. l. 1. c. 10. For (as he says afterwards) *Si natura confirmatura jus non erit, virtutes omnes tollantur*.—*Etiam in Deos ceremonias, religionesque tolluntur*. c. 15.

^a P. 373. And again, after saying that it is impossible to decide what in Point of Dress is handsomest, abstract from the Mode in Being, whether Beards and Whiskers, or shaved Faces, narrow-brim'd Hats, or broad, great Buttons or little ones, he says, in p. 379. in Morals there is no greater Certainty.

^b See the Fable itself, and p. 428 and p. 105. like Honesty, a mean, starving Virtue.

^c P. 153. Oh! the mighty Prize we have in View for all our Self-denial.

^d Gen. c. 1. v. 28.

^e P. 195.

P

long

long as you please, and yet they will neither fight for you, carry Merchandize, nor go of your Errands.

Fortior est qui se quam qui fortissima vincit mœnia, is a Maxim that could not escape his Notice, when he was ridiculing the Motives to Virtue. It shews the Roguery of Politicians, and the great Folly of the People, to make a continual War with themselves for the good of others, upon no other View, than the silly Pleasure arising from the Conquest of their own Passions^c. He seems to have had a double Pleasure in this Ridicule. Besides the common one of overturning a Maxim the old moral Philosophers had given into, he had an Opportunity of burlesquing *Solomon* for the same Observation^f.

He will possibly say in his Defence, that he had not this Text of Scripture in view. Be it so; the Reader will, doubtless, make all such Allowances for him, where he has an Opportunity of shewing his Candour with Safety to common Sense. But at the same Time he will expect, I am afraid, that the Author should justify his Innocence, by retracting all those Opinions that he finds so contradicted in Scripture. But alas! this would be to destroy that Work that is to last for ever. It makes a good Flourish at the end of a Book to promise to recant, to beg Pardon of the offended Publick, to burn his Book openly, if in the whole of it there is to be found the least Tittle of Blasphemy or Prophaneness, or any Thing tending to Immorality, or the Corruption of Manners^g. But to comply with this Promise is extremely difficult. Such a Conquest over his Vanity (considering the Mightiness of the Adversary he has to encounter) might indeed be equal to that of taking a City.

^c P. 31.

^f Prov. xvi. 32. *He that is slow to Anger, is better than the Mighty; and he that ruleth his Spirit, than he that taketh a City.*

^g P. 475, 477.

After he has said, that *in Morals there is no greater Certainty*, than there is in determining which is the handsomest Fashion, to wear Beards, or no Beards, narrow brim'd Hats, or broad ones, great Buttons, or small ^h; he proceeds to tell you it is pretty much the same as to Religion. *Which is the best Religion? is a Question that has caused more Mischief than all other Questions together. Ask it at Peking, at Constantinople, and at Rome, and you'll receive three distinct Answers extremely different from one another, yet all of them equally positive and peremptory* ⁱ. So it seems the Pagan, the Mahometan, and the Christian Religion are alike true or false, and depend only upon the Fashion of the Place, or the Bigottry of their several Professors. And it is in this Sense he intends it then, that *the Worship of the Goddess Diana is OUT OF FASHION* at present ^k. If the Reader should think there is still room left for his being *a very good Protestant*, since he has only condemned Paganism, Mahometism, and Popery, what Pity it is he should have added, that it is the same as to *the several Sects of Christians*, who, if you enquire, *which is the true Church of Christ? will all of them tell you it is their's, and to convince you, go together by the Ears* ^l! Then follow the Words, in which he says, all such Enquiries are *not much better than a wild Goose Chase, &c.*

After all it must be allowed him, we have many good Protestants among us, who are not of *any* Sect of Christianity whatever; who are very successful in pleading their Merit on the one Account, after they have lain aside all Pretences to the other. This may seem strange to an ignorant Reader; but the Times, we live in, afford much Matter of Wonder and Amazement.

^h P. 376, 377.ⁱ P. 379.^k 342.^l P. 380.

He says by Way of Apology for his Book, that *he speaks neither of Jews nor Christians, but Man ignorant of the true Deity* ^l. He must mean by this, that he knows his Opinions are not true, if the Jewish, the Christian Religion, or the Being of a God itself be true; for else his Apology is impertinent. What Ruins is this Work of *exalted Morality built upon*? But it is a Misfortune several of his Apologies lye under; that besides their being awkward and unnatural, they expose the Guilt of his Opinions in a more glaring manner.

He expects, he says, *a full-mouthed Cry* against him; *what! has God never punished and destroyed great Nations for their Sins?* Yes (says the Author) *but not without Means, by infatuating their Governors, and suffering them to depart from either all or some of these general Maxims I have mentioned* ^m. The chief general Maxim is, *Private Vices Publick Benefits*. This is what he proposes to Magistrates to direct them in the Government of a Society ⁿ. So that whenever God punishes a Nation for their Sins, it is by infatuating their Governors, and suffering them to depart from this Rule. God's Method to curse a People for their *Vices* is to make them *virtuous*, which of all others he thinks must be the greatest Curse, because it makes them *poor*. Is it the want of Religion here, or of common Sense, that the Reader wonders at most? If he means only his particular Maxims relating to Trade, &c. the Sum of his Divinity is this; whenever a People make themselves *Rogues*, the only means God has to punish them by, is to make them *Fools*.

That there is no such Thing as Virtue or Vice, but as Men were pleased arbitrarily to fix those Names upon particular Actions, as it served their Ambition or

^l Introduction, and p. 35.

^m P. 116, 117.

ⁿ P. 469.

Roguery °, is what he was to prove in the *philosophical* Part of his Treatise. The Truth of this he will shew in a particular Instance. *There is no Merit in saving an innocent Babe ready to drop into the Fire: The Action is neither good nor bad* ^p. On the other Hand we find, that to be kind to one another, tender-hearted ^q, being pitiful, and having Compassion one of another ^r, are the Precepts of the *New Testament*; and that He does but deceive himself in his Pretences to Religion, who, when he seeth his Brother have need, shutteth up his Bowels of Compassion from him ^s. That to love thy Neighbour as thy self ^t is the principal Duty of social Life. And our Saviour from the Instance of the good Samaritan tells us, that this Compassion to our Brother, this Love to our Neighbour, is to be understood of all Mankind. That it is not confined to Relations, or Friends, Countries, or Opinions, but extends itself to all Men in Distress, or that need our Assistance. *A certain Man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among Thieves, which stripped him of his Rayment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.* It seems several People pass'd by without being at all affected with so melancholy an Object. At last a good-natured Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him, he had Compassion on him, &c. Our Saviour could not be unacquainted with the Motives to this charitable Action; he must know that all the Workings of Nature, and a fellow-feeling with this poor Wretch in his Distress, must needs give the good Samaritan some Pain, and that that Pain might have some Share in his generous Behaviour: And yet our Saviour does not scruple to determine this Action to be a good one, and therefore

° P. 33, 34.

^s I Joh. iii. 17.

^p P. 42.

^q Ephes. iv. 32.

^r Luke x. 27.

^t I Pet. iii. 8.

proposes it to the Lawyer as a Pattern for him to imitate; *go and do thou likewise* ^r.

By the Way, the Reader will observe, that what the Author says to explain away the Goodness of such Actions, makes against what he is endeavouring to prove. His Business is to make human Nature appear as vile as possible; and therefore in this Instance he would tell you, that *the Action is neither good nor bad; and what Benefit soever the poor Wretch received, the Samaritan only obliged himself; for to have let him lain there, and not strove to relieve him, would have caused a Pain, which Self-Preservation compelled him to prevent* ^u. (He means *Self-Love*, or a Care to avoid the Uneasiness arising from a fellow-feeling with others in their Distress, implanted in our Nature.) But certainly it shews the Excellency, not the Imperfection of our Make, that we are naturally formed with Inclinations beneficial to others, which the utmost Lengths in Wickedness can never quite efface or destroy ^w: According to that of *Juvenal*, *mollissima corda humano generi dare se natura fatetur, quæ Lacrymas dedit. Hæc nostri pars optima sensus*. And again, *Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum—terra clauditur infans* ^x.

By representing Compassion as prevailing in the worst as well as the best of Men, the Author would fain infer, that the Principle itself is a Weakness and Blemish in our Nature. But surely this dealer in Paradox would not gravely impose it upon the World, that *Highwaymen, House-breakers, and Murderers*, are as compassionate as the rest of Mankind. One would think they must have stifled in a good Measure their natural Pity

^r Luk. x. 37.

^u P. 43.

^w P. 289. *He is speaking of a Sow's devouring a Child.* An Highwayman, an House-breaker, or a Murderer could feel Anxieties on such an Occasion.

^x Sat. 15. v. 131, &c.

and Tenderneſs, before they could well enter upon ſuch bloody Employments. Compaſſion is another Word for Humanity, and accordingly the good *Chremes* thought it a ſufficient Reason for interpoſing his Advice, and endeavouring to remove the Miſery he ſaw his Neighbour daily bring upon himſelf, to ſay *Homo ſum* : *Humani nihil a me alienum puto* ^v. *Juvenal* has copied the ſame Sentiment from him: and as he makes a fellow-feeling with others in their Miſfortunes, one great Characteriſtick to diſtinguiſh Mankind from the Brute Creation; ſo he tells you the beſt and moſt virtuous among *them* have the greateſt Share of it ^z. But ſurely there does not want ſuch Authorities to prove Humanity to be a Virtue.

The Caſe in ſhort is this. There is as little compleat Wickedneſs in the World, as there is Perfection in Goodneſs. The worſt of Men have ſome good Qualities, which let the reſt of their Lives be what they will, will now and then break out and appear in their Actions. Now theſe good Qualities are not the leſs good Qualities in themſelves, or the leſs to be called *Virtues*, becauſe a Man, otherwiſe bad, poſſeſſes them. For inſtance, Piety to Parents is not the leſs a Virtue, becauſe it may chance that a Highwayman has relieved his Parents in Diſtreſs; nor (to put it yet ſtronger) would be the leſs a Virtue in itſelf, though it ſhould chance that a Man robb'd for this very Purpoſe. For if all his other Qualities were answerable to this Regard to his Parents, he would not have robb'd, but have acted in all Things like a good Man. And thoſe good Qualities he does poſſeſs, don't change their Nature, becauſe they are accompanied with others unlike themſelves :

^v Ter. Heaut. Act. I. S. I.

^z Sat. 15. v. 140. *Quis enim bonus — nulla aliena ſibi credat mala? Separat hoc nos a grege mutorum.*

much less do the same Qualities cease to be good in *another* Man, because in *this* Man they are joined to Qualities that are bad.

We find in Scripture, that God has promised (who is *faithful*, and will perform it) that he will not suffer them who depend upon him to be tempted beyond their Strength, but will, in case of Temptation and Persecution, give them such extraordinary Assistance, as to enable them to bear it ^a. And this is no more than what we are assured of from the whole Tenor of the New Testament. We are likewise commanded to offer up our Prayers and Supplications continually to this Purpose. Now it would be highly irrational to suppose, that God Almighty should command us to implore his Assistance, when we are persecuted for his Name's Sake, if he were resolved (notwithstanding our Compliance with his Commands) to leave us to depend constantly upon our natural Strength, and in no Instance to afford us any other Assistance than what he vouchsafes to the greatest Profligate, to the Wretch who suffers for his open Defiance of *his* Power and Being. Again, we are assured how blessed they are, who are thus persecuted for Righteousness Sake ^b; we are told what infinite Bliss is prepared in Heaven to reward such Constancy; that it ought to be Matter of exceeding Joy to us, to have an Opportunity put into our Hands of making ourselves thus acceptable to God ^c. And accordingly we read of several in *Scripture* who had suffered for their Faith; as we know there were many thousands after those Books were writ, who defied the cruel Inventions of Tyrants and Executioners, and died with all the Joy, Alacrity, and Perseverance their Master had required of them. But this *infallible Touchstone*,

^a 1 Cor. x. 13.

^b Matt. v. 10.

^c Ver. 12. and Jam. i. 2.

to distinguish the real from the counterfeited, that shews many Actions to be faulty that are palmed upon the World for good ones ^d, can give a much better Account what this wonderful Constancy was owing to. He cannot but admire at the Simplicity of some good Men, who when they hear of the Joy and Alacrity with which holy Men in Persecution have suffered for their Faith, imagine that such Constancy must exceed all human Force, unless it was supported by some miraculous Assistance from Heaven^e. What was it then that supported them? Arrant Pride and firm Constitution^f. What Reason has he for this impious Charge? Why, there have been Men, who only assisted with Pride and Constitution to maintain the worst of Causes, have undergone Death and Torments with as much Chearfulness as the best of Men, animated with Piety and Devotion, ever did for the true Religion^g. If these Expressions did not border quite so near upon Blasphemy, the Reader could not find in his Heart to be angry with such a Reasoner. He can't but admire at the Simplicity of those, who think holy Men in their Martyrdom were assisted from Heaven: For (says he) since the worst of Men, assisted *only* with Pride and Constitution, have suffered as chearfully as the best of Men, animated (*not* with Pride or Constitution) but with Piety and Devotion; therefore it was Pride and Constitution that assisted them both, and carried them to that *Pitch of Self-denial*^h. Or has he a Mind to come off, by owning at once, that by *Piety and Devotion* he means *Pride and Constitution*? But even this would not quite serve the Purpose. For then it will be, that Pride and Constitution will do as much as Pride and Constitution. In short, the meaning is this, that Pride and Constitution have gone as far in supporting some Men in the worst of

^d P. 467.^e P. 237.^f Ibid.^g Ibid.^h Ibid.

Causes (that of Atheism) as in animating others in *what the World calls* a better Cause, that of the *Christian Religion*. So horrid a meaning, the charitable Reader will give him leave to disavow, when he shews any other consistent Sense in the whole Paragraph.

To prove this last Assertion, he could produce many Instances; but one or two will be sufficient. Sufficient, indeed, they will be found to shew his own Malice and Ignorance. *Vanini, Jordanus Bruno, and one Mahomet Effendi, suffered Death in the Cause of Atheism*¹. And these three, with our Author to lead them on, shall rout the whole Army of Martyrs and Confessors, with all the Saints, Evangelists, and Apostles at the Head of them. His Suggestion may go even beyond Apostles, for ought he has said to restrain it. But it is too shocking to follow him.

If by way of Excuse he should say, he confines his Observation to the three Instances mentioned, and others who have *really* suffered in the worst of Causes; this would directly contradict what he set out with. For surely he does not think, that these *good Men*, whose *Simplicity he admires at*, mean *Vanini, Jordanus Bruno, &c.* when they speak of the *holy Men who have suffered for the Faith*. If so, indeed their Simplicity might well be admired at. No, they were the primitive Martyrs, the first Publishers of the Gospel, who were not supported by any *miraculous Assistance from Heaven*, but by their own *Pride and firm Constitutions*.

If his Bigottry to Irreligion did not blind him, it would have been easy for him to account (in some Measure) for this Patience and Constancy of Martyrs in their suffering for the Faith, even by common and natural Means, without supposing much *Firmness of Con-*

¹ See the Index for *Vanini*.

stitution, or one Jot of *Pride* to support them. We find from every Day's Experience, that even the most imprudent and thoughtless Part of Mankind, are content now and then to postpone a present Pleasure to somewhat in Reversion ; and even sometimes to undergo a little present Uneasiness and Pain, to obtain a very great Advantage afterwards. What Fatigue won't some Men submit to, to promote their Fortune, and what Pains won't they contentedly undergo, to recover and establish their Health ? In short, Wisdom itself is thought to consist in having a View to such *future* Advantages. Now he may depend upon it, there are Men in the World who really think that this Eternity of Bliss is a greater Reward for the Pains undergone in Persecution, than the greatest temporal Advantage is for the Trouble Men take in the Pursuit of it ; who do sincerely reckon, *that the Sufferings of this present Time, are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us*^k. And with all such it is a Point of Wisdom and common Prudence to prefer their Interest in this future Glory, to their present Conveniency and Ease.

It is not even necessary in the present Supposition, that their Hopes should be well-grounded^l. If they are *sincere* in their Belief, it is enough to satisfy us, that Pride could have no Share in their Conduct. And that they are sincere in it, I can prove from the Authority of one, that he ought to be ashamed of falling foul on so often as he does. This Writer will assure him, that

^k Rom. viii. 18.

^l The Author seems all along to take it for granted, that there is no future State of Rewards and Punishments at all: For he says, ALL the Recompence a Man has of a virtuous Action, is the Pleasure of doing it, which most People reckon but poor Pay, p. 246.

those who chearfully undergo Persecution for their Faith, ought not to be suspected of Insincerity^m.

Some of his Readers perhaps will think (for he dare not own it himself) that this *Belief* I talk of, is that very *Enthusiasm* he means, that *some Men of firm Constitutions may work themselves up to, by no other Help than the Violence of their Passions*ⁿ. But vast Multitudes of those Martyrs had themselves a Christian Education, and therefore their earliest Prejudices favoured this Opinion. And surely there does not need any very *strong Constitution*, nor *Violence of Passions*, much less any *Pride*, to persuade People that they ought not to renounce the Belief they have been bred up in, which their riper Years and Reflection have confirmed in them, to worship Idols, or offer Sacrifice to Devils: or that if they did do so, such shameful Prevarication would be displeasing to that God they had been taught to worship, and probably draw down his Vengeance upon their Heads. I say, this may in some measure be accounted for from such common innocent Errors, as that there is a God, that he ought to be worship'd, that he *will not give his Glory to another*, nor sit tamely unconcerned to see his Commands disobeyed, and his Power defied; as likewise that he is a just and a good God; that *he is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek him*, that suffer for his Sake, and act in Conformity to his Pleasure. But this Writer of ours is such a Bigot in Infidelity, that he is not content to deny Religion without decrying it; to affirm that those who suffer in its Cause, are not assisted by any extraordinary Grace from Heaven, without resolving their Conduct into a Composition of monstrous Vice and Folly.

^m *Free Thoughts on Religion, &c.* by B. M. p. 6 and 7:

ⁿ P. 237.

I don't say, that a Sense of Religion would always have been sufficient of itself to support Men in such fiery Trials. As it would be absurd to deny its Efficacy upon great Numbers of Men in their Sufferings, so it will require a very strong Faith to believe, that so many thousands of all Ages, Conditions, and of different Sexes, should all be affected with this lively Sense of Duty, should smile in the midst of the utmost Tortures the cruel Ingenuity of their Enemies could contrive for them; that this should be the Case of Christians in every Place, where this Persecution raged; that there should be no Instances of Men for a vast Tract of Years, who compounded for their Safety at the Price of their Truth and Sincerity: It would be absurd, I say, to believe all this, without supposing some extraordinary Assistance from Heaven, to support People under these severe Trials. All this however may, for ought I know, be believed by some among us. For it has been very truly observed, that the Creed of a modern Infidel is larger, and has more Articles in it, than that of the most bigotted Sectary upon Earth.

I can't help enlarging upon this Article, in order to give the Reader a more particular View of those Heroes of Impiety, those Martyrs for Atheism, that our Author has fetched out of his learned Store, which he assures us would have supplied him with many more Instances °.

Vanini, he says, might have been pardoned the Moment before the Execution, if he would have retracted his Doctrine; but rather than recant, he chose to be burnt to Ashes. As he went to the Stake, he was so far from shewing any Concern, that he held his Hand out to a Physician whom he happened to know, desiring him

° P. 238. To prove this Assertion, I could produce many Instances.

to judge of the Calmness of his Mind by the Regularity of his Pulse, and from thence taking an Opportunity of making an impious Comparison, uttered a Sentence too execrable to be mentioned ^p. I think I may venture to say, that in all the Facts and particular Circumstances here mentioned, there is not one Word of Truth, unless it be in the silly Comparison *Vanini* made before his Execution. Let the Reader himself judge upon the Evidence.

An Account of his Behaviour during his Imprisonment, Trial, and before his Execution, is preserved to us by President *Grammond*, in his History of France ^q. A Writer of great Credit and Learning ^r, who was himself present at every Part of it ^s. In the first Place, it is so far from being true, that *he chose to be burnt rather than retract his Doctrine*, that he would very gladly have made any Recantations to have procured his Pardon. Upon his Trial he said, That every Thing about him was an Evidence of the Being of a God; and taking up a Straw from the Ground, he reasoned from it much beyond himself (for he was a Fellow of but very ordinary Genius) of the Necessity there was of believing a God, and of the Absurdity of an infinite Succession of Causes. Nay more, he was extremely orthodox in his Faith: for when his Judges first asked him what he thought of the Deity, he answered, *coli sibi in Trinitate unum qualem adorat Ecclesia Catholica*. As to the Calmness of his Deportment during his Suffering we are told, *Erat illi in extremis aspectus ferox & horridus, inquieta mens, anxium quodcunque loqueba-*

^p P. 238.

^q Barth. Grammondi Historiarum Gallie. L. 3. p. 208.

^r Viro cum gravi tum docto. Bishop Parker's Disputations, &c. p. 83.

^s Vidi ego in custodia, vidi in patibulo, videram ante quam subiret Vincula, &c. Gram.

zur. And again, *Hic Lucilii Vanini finis, cui quanta constantia fuerit, probat belluinus in morte clamor. Vidi ego in custodia, vidi in patibulo, videram ante quam subiret vincula: Flagitiosus in libertate, & voluptatum sectator avidus, in carcere Catholicus, in extremis omni Philosophiæ præsidio destitutus, amens moritur.* And yet our Author, as if he himself had been *the Physician who felt the Regularity of his Pulse*^t, assures you, that the Calmness, Stedfastness and Courage of the Primitive Martyrs were equal'd, if not outdone, in the Sufferings of this poor Wretch.

As to the last Circumstance of *his making an impious Comparison*, and uttering a Sentence too execrable to be mentioned, I shall venture to mention it without any Fear of shocking the Reader, after having prepared him for hearing execrable Sentences by transcribing so much already from *the Fable of the Bees*. It seems this poor Madman^u (and there can't be a greater Proof of it than this Circumstance) with all that Horror in his Countenance, had yet the Vanity to say, he should die without any Dread or Concern. Thinking it to no Purpose to deny his Opinions any longer^w, since his Death was inevitable, *Monachi solatium aspernatus, objectam crucem aversatur, Christoque illudit in hæc verba; illi in extremis imbellis sudor, ego imperterritus morior.* It is not my Design to extenuate the Guilt of such a senseless Piece of Profaneness. But it is far from being a Proof of his Atheism; and perhaps the Reader will think there are worse Expressions in the *Fable of the Bees*, as there are many much worse in the Writings of *Vanini*. The one says, the Agony of Christ was owing to the Fear and Terror he was under

^t P. 238.

^u *Amens moritur.* Gram.

^w *In carcere Sacramentis frequenter utebatur, dissimulans astute conscientiam. Ubi videt creptam spem vite, larvam exitus, qualisque vixerat moritur.* Gram.

on account of his approaching Death; the other labours to prove, that the Constancy which *all* Martyrs, *without Exception*, have shewed in their Sufferings for Religion, has proceeded from *Pride* and *firm Constitutions*, that is to say, Pride supported by firm Constitutions. And after all it will remain somewhat doubtful, whether his calling *Vanini infamous*, the Comparison *impious*, and saying the Sentence is *too execrable to be mentioned*, has not more of the Sneer in it, than any serious Dislike.

The Reader from hence may reasonably wonder, why the Author should endeavour to exaggerate the Impiety of one, who in many of his Opinions he will be thought to agree with. Why, it is for that Reason, and in pursuit of the same End, *Vanini* had in uttering that *execrable* Sentence. For if he can once possess the Reader with an Opinion that *Vanini* died a Martyr for Atheism, that he held *infamous* Opinions, that at going out of the World he made an *impious* Comparison, and uttered a Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*; if in short he be such a one *in the common Language of the World*, he thought it would serve his Purpose very well, if he described him as suffering for the Cause in this composed, stedfast, heroical manner; if he described him as bravely rejecting Life, when it was offered to him at the Price of his Truth and Sincerity.

But as bad a Purpose as the Author must be thought to aim at in this Account of his atheistical Martyrs, and his Comparison of them with *the best of Men* (that *animated with Piety and Devotion*) ever suffered for the true Religion^x, it would not be fair to conceal any Thing from the Reader, which it is even *possible* should make for his Justification. We have heard from an unexcep-

^x P. 237.

tionable Authority, who was himself an Eye Witness of the Transaction he relates, with what sort of Temper this Champion suffered. And I have never yet met with any other Writer that pretends to say he died in the manner represented in the Fable: Though if there were any such, surely it must meet with very little Credit in Opposition to the other. What shall we say then? or from whence had he this Account? *To forge* in the Cause of Infidelity is a monstrous Sort of Enthusiasm!

Indeed Mr. *Bayle*^y, from whom he has borrowed a Part of this Paragraph, asks why *Vanini* did not recant and deceive his Judges? and calls him Fool for not doing so. The Answer to which is very plain, and most certainly true, that he *did* recant, and that to no Purpose. Mr. *Bayle* is here endeavouring to prove, that Men don't act according to their Belief or Principles^z: and if he could but persuade the Reader that *Vanini* might have scaped by Recanting, and that he was really an Atheist, it would have been an Instance exactly for his Purpose^a. But as Mr. *Bayle* says nothing (at least that I have met with) of his Calmness, and Composure in his Sufferings, nor of that Circumstance of the

^y *Pensées diverses, a l'occasion de la Comete, &c. Sect. 182.*

^z *Ibid.* L'Exemple de *Vanini* est une preuve incontestable de ce que J'ai dit tant de fois, savoir, que les hommes n'agissent pas conformément a leur creance.

^a For to act conformably to a Belief that there is nothing after this Life, is to act not only insincerely, but as much like a thorough Villain as you find it for your Interest. A Conclusion he is very right in, and to set aside which, Lord *Shaftsbury* has said a great many pretty Things to no Purpose. Each of the two Writers have the same View, though their Ways of bringing it about are quite opposite. The one says Men may be virtuous from no other Principle than the Pleasure of contemplating on the natural Charms of Virtue, and upon that Foot only can be truly virtuous. The other says that Men may be virtuous without any Principles at all, nay, that they are commonly most virtuous, where their Principles are most vicious, because Mankind commonly act against their Principle.

Physician and his Pulse, I presume, this could not be his Authority ^b.

There is yet room for the candid Reader to think, the Author may possibly have met with such an Account of *Vanini's* Behaviour. It seems this *infamous Vanini*, who died with a Sentence in his Mouth *too execrable to be mentioned*, has had however an Apology writ for him a few Years ago. The Name of the Author, and Place where it was printed, are both concealed; and I believe the Book itself is not to be met with in *England*, but in the Studies of those who set a Value upon that *silly Piece of Blasphemy* called ^c, *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante* ^d. It was probably writ by some Jesuit, of whose Society he had always shewn himself a most egregious Flatterer. Mr. *Phillips* in his *Philosophical History of Atheism* has given us some Passages out of this Book, which he met with Abroad. Mr. *Phillips's* Treatise was printed in 1716, who says the Book was lately printed ^e. Now the first Edition of *the Fable* was printed 1714; so that we must suppose this *Apology* to be writ before *the Fable of the Bees*, and that the Author has read it; besides which it must be taken for granted, that it gives the same unfaithful Account of *Vanini's* Behaviour that we see in *the Fable*.

With the Supposition then of all these doubtful Facts in his Favour, let us see what Use the Author has

^b I wish after all the Author did not meet with this Description in Beaumont and Fletcher, and taking a Fancy to it, bestow it upon his Hero Vanini. PHILASTER says, Not the calm Sea, when *Aeolus* locks up his windy Brood, is less disturbed than I.—Sirs, feel my Pulse: Whether have you known a Man in a more equal Tune to die? If this be the Case, he ought to have given us what was said o'tother Side. BELLARIO answers, Alas! my Lord, your Pulse keeps Madman's Time, so does your Tongue.

^c Fable of the Bees, p. 238.

^d Writ by *Jordanus Bruno*.

^e P. 109. *Cosmopoli nuper impressa*.

made of this *Apology*. Those who think him *infamous*, who say that he made any *impious* Comparifon, that he uttered any Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*, in fhort, thofe who fay he was an *Atheift*, not only abfolutely deny that his Behaviour was calm and compofed, but affirm upon the Testimony of their own Senses, that his Carriage was as mean, and fhewed as much Terror and Diftraction, as we fee in a common Malefactor, who is hanged for ftealing a Silver Spoon. Now, let us fuppofe his Apologift has fet his dying Behaviour in that amiable Light, and mentioned that particular Circumftance of the Phyfician and his Pulse; did the fame Writer call him *infamous*? Did he fay that he made an *impious* Comparifon, and died uttering a Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*? No, the very Reverse of it; it was writ to fhew the Innocency of his Opinions, and the Injuftice of his Condemnation: That he was fo far from being an *Atheift*, that *he had never as much as denied the Immortality of the Soul*^f. The one fays that *Vanini* an *Atheift*, a fcandalous, debauched, prevaricating Fellow, from the Terror of his approaching Death behaved like a Madman^g: The other, that *Vanini*, a worthy, learned, virtuous, good Catholick, who was cruelly condemned for holding Opinions he was an utter Stranger to, died with exemplary Compofure and Stedfaftnefs. But neither of thefe entire Accounts would ferve our Author's Purpose. No, he tells you the *infamous Vanini*, who made that *impious* Comparifon, and uttered a Sentence *too execrable to be mentioned*, underwent Death and Tor-

^f *Audet affirmare, Vaninum immortalitatem animæ negaffe nullo in Loco.*
 Hift. Phil. Ath. p. 112.

^g *Flagitiofus in Libertate, & voluptatum Sæclator avidus, in Carcere Catholicus, in extremis omni Philofophiæ præfidio deftitutus, amens moriturus Gram.*

ments with as much *Chearfulness*, as the best of Men, animated with *Piety and Devotion*, ever did for the true Religion ^h; with as much *Joy and Alacrity*, as any of you good Men (whose *Simplicity I can't but admire at*) can pretend to say any of your boasted *holy Men in Persecutions* have ever shewn when they suffered for their Faith ⁱ. I leave this whole Passage and its Author to the Reader's own Reflections.

I shall add a Word or two more to shew what kind of Man this *Vanini* really was. First then, his Head was so turned with *Vanity*, that he makes a Disciple of his in one of his Dialogues bestow such a Piece of blasphemous Flattery upon him, as will serve for a better Proof of the Wickedness of his Opinions, than any Thing our Author has mentioned ^k.

It is reported that he writ to Pope *Paul V.* to tell him, among a great deal of other Impertinence, *that if he did not give him a good Benefice, in three Months Time he would overturn the whole Christian Religion* ^l.

His Book *de admirandis Naturæ arcanis*, he dedicates to the *Mareschal de Bassompierre*. He begins in vast Admiration of himself ¹ instead of his Patron. But he makes ample Amends for it afterwards. It seems his Patron was very handsome, and accordingly very successful with Women: upon which Occasion the Dedicator offers up his Devotions to him in the following manner. *Tam elegantem formosi corporis speciem* (says he) *quid memorem? quando non modo mille Helenis venustiores Heroínas ad sui amorem pertrahit, sed Atheorum contumaciam perstringit, petulantiam comprimit,*

^h P. 237.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k Non ego Thomæ Mori exemplum imitabor, qui cum Erasmus ignoto habitu acutissime differentem excepisset, ita dixit, vel Dæmon es, vel Erasmus, sed ita de tua sapientia eloquar, VEL DEUS ES VEL VANINUS: To which the poor Wretch gravely answers, *Hic sum*.

^l Monsieur Patin says, he knew a Person of Honour who had seen this Letter. Je connois un homme d'honneur quia a vû cette Lettre, dans laquelle il y avoit plusieurs autres sottises, & meme des choses horribles. *Patiniana*, p. 52.

*nefariosque conatus reprimat: Nam speciosissima faciei
 tue splendorem majestatemque intuentes, Divinitatis
 vestigium homini inesse fateri non inhorrescunt.* Then
 his Devotion grows warmer: *si Platonis essem alumnus,
 tanquam mundi animam te colerem atque deoscularer.*
*Compliments, says a French Writer*¹, *that from one of
 Vanini's Country*^m, *his Way of Life and Religion, look
 very rascally and suspicious.* It seems his Patron was re-
 markably generous too, and accordingly he ends his
 seraphick Dedication, with humbly begging his Honour's
 Charityⁿ.

As to the Instance of *Jordanus Bruno*, it will be a
 very difficult Matter for him to prove he died a Martyr
 for Atheism. There is a particular Account of his
 Death in a Letter of *Gaspar Scioppius*^o. The De-
 sign of this Letter was to justify the Proceedings of the
 Inquisition in condemning him, and to assure his Friend
 that he did not die for *Lutheranism*, as it was generally
 reported even at *Rome* itself. It was his Business then
 to set his Opinions in their worst Light; and such a
 Bigot as *Scioppius* was, can never be thought to repre-
 sent them too favourably. Some of these Opinions
 were doubtless very bad, others very weak and enthu-
 siastical, and others for which he was condemned, ap-
 pear to be very innocent. But amongst all of them
Scioppius does not attempt to shew that he denied the
 Being of a God. He says of him indeed, *Horrenda
 prorsus absurdissima docet, v. g. Mundos esse innumera-
 biles, animam de corpore in corpus, imo & alium in
 mundum migrare; unam animam bina corpora informare*

¹ Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire, p. 342.

^m *Vanini* was born at *Naples*.

ⁿ *Il finit sottement son Epiire dedicatoire, par demander L'Aumone a son
 Héros.* Ibid.

^o It is published in the *Entretiens sur divers sujets d'Histoire*, vid.
 p. 287.

posse, magiam esse rem bonam & licitam, Spiritum sanctum esse nihil aliud nisi animam mundi, Christum non esse Deum, sed fuisse Magum insignem, Diabolum salvatum iri; with many others that plainly enough shew he was no Christian, but not one that intimates his Disbelief of a God. Since then we may reasonably suppose these are his worst Opinions, it will be needless to shew from other Parts of his Writings, that he was not an Atheist. I am afraid many of our modern Deists don't believe as much as he did. One of the Opinions for which he was condemned, supposes his Belief of a future State, & *Diabolum Salvatum iri*. Scioppius says, if he would have confessed his Errors, he might have been saved. What Errors? His owning a God, a Providence, a future State, or his Belief of the Christian Religion, would not have satisfied the *Inquisition*. He must have owned his Belief of *Popery*, which if he had done, the rest perhaps might have been remitted to him. And indeed, considering his scandalous Life (which he could not conceal even in his Writings) it is a Wonder he stuck at any Thing. If on the other Hand we think him sincere in the Belief of a future State, his Case is nothing more than this; that he chose to dye rather than renounce his Hopes of Salvation, by professing his Belief of the Popish Superstition, which he thought was a Cheat upon the World. After all, there is no knowing with any Certainty, what was the real Crime for which he suffered, when the *Inquisition* were his Judges^a.

But let the Author suppose him what he will; was his Behaviour like that of a Primitive Martyr? Was he as steady and uniform in his Opinions? No, we are told he prevaricated shamefully^p: And the Account of

^p *Modo 40 dies obtinuit, quibus deliberaret, modo promisit palinodiam, modo denuo suas nugas defendit, modo alios 40 dies impetravit. Sciop.*

^a Mr. Patin says, he was burnt for Heresy. Il fut brûlé en Italie à son retour de France pour Herésie. *Patiniana*, p. 34.

it is given us by one, whose Business it was to represent him as obstinate in Opinion as possible, the better to justify the Severity of the Sentence.

His last Instance is one *Mahomet Effendi*; and this (for want of other Accounts) we must take in the manner Sir *Paul Ricaut* has represented it.

The Substance then of this Proof, introduced with great Sufficiency and *Admiration at the Simplicity of good Men*^a who differ from him, amounts to this; that the Sufferings of that vast Company of Martyrs who endured Persecution for their Faith, with so much Chearfulness and Constancy, was owing in every Instance to Pride and firm Constitutions^r, BECAUSE Mr. Bayle has told him a Story of one executed at *Constantinople* for Atheism: A poor, narrow thinking Wretch, who had no better Argument to support him in his Infidelity, than that if there was a God, he could not be as wise as the Doctors preached he was, in suffering such an Enemy as himself to live^t! A Member of an infamous Sect or Club, whose constant Entertainment for any Brother Infidel that was their Guest, was to provide for their Lust with either Sex which they most delighted in^t!

The Reader will naturally think, it is by Mistake that I mention Mr. Bayle as the Person who told him this Story; and yet I believe it will appear he had no other Authority for it. He is such a blind Follower of this *Frenchman*, that he dare not as much as quote an *English* Writer, unless He introduces him and speaks for him. When I say Mr. Bayle, I would not be understood to mean Mr. Bayle in the Original; no, he

^a P. 237.

^r Ibid.

^t Sir Paul Ricaut's Present State of the Ottoman Empire. B. 2. C. 12.

Ibid.

must go one Step farther, and take the *English* Translator of him ^u.

It may be seen by consulting the Passages underneath, that Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells the Story in very different Language ^w, and in one Particular very different as to the Fact. Any one would guess from Mr. *Bayle* and his Follower, that this *Mahomet Effendi* was executed for *advancing some philosophical Notions*, some particular Tenets against the Existence of a God: And as such it was certainly proper for Mr. *Bayle*'s Purpose, and consequently our Author's, to represent it. Instead of which we find he was executed for such common blasphemous Discourse, as might reasonably be expected from the most profligate Wretch in the midst of his

^u To this Example of *Vanini* we may join that of one † *Mahomet Effendi*, executed at *Constantinople* not long ago, for having advanced some Notions against the Existence of a God. He might have saved his Life by confessing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but chose to persist in his Blasphemies, saying, *Though he had no Reward to expect, the Love of Truth constrained him to suffer Martyrdom in its Defence.* Engl. Transl. of Mr. *Bayle*'s Miscellan. Reflect. occasioned by a Comet, p. 379. Sect. 182.

To these we may join one *Mahomet Effendi*, who, as Sir *Paul Ricaut* tells us, was put to Death at *Constantinople*, for having advanced some Notions against the Existence of a God. He likewise might have saved his Life by confessing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but chose rather to persist in his Blasphemies, saying, *Though he had no Reward to expect, the Love of Truth constrain'd him to suffer Martyrdom in its Defence.* Fable of the Bees, p. 238.

^w One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*,——— I remember, was in my Time executed for impudently proclaiming his Blasphemies against the Being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary Discourse, an Argument against the Being of a God; for that either there was none at all, or else not so wise as the Doctors preached he was, in suffering him to live who was the greatest Enemy and Scornor of a Divine Essence, that ever came into the World. And it is observable, that this Man might, notwithstanding his Accusation, have saved his Life, would he but have confessed his Error, and promised for the future an Assent to the Principles of a better: But he persisted still in his Blasphemies, saying, *That though there were no Reward, yet the Love of Truth obliged him to dye a Martyr.* Sir *Paul Ricaut*.

† Sir *Paul Ricaut*, l. 2. ch. 12.

Debauchery. The Reader will be of Opinion, that, if in any thing he has given a faithful Account of this Matter, it is apparently by Chance.

That it mayn't be thought he is hardly used in this Suggestion, I'll give another Instance of the same Kind, from the same Writers, that will put this Matter out of doubt. Mr. Bayle in his 165th Section is to shew, *how the Impurity that prevails among Christians does Hurt to the Christian Religion*; and from thence to prove the Usefulness of publick Stews, as the most effectual Method to prevent Lewdness. I shall give it to the Reader in the common Translation, with the Change only of two or three Words where it varied from Mr. Bayle. ' *This Remark on the Extensiveness of Impurity among Christians, brings a Passage to my Mind out of Mr. Ricaut* * : ' That the *Turks* laugh at our speaking of the Strictness of the Christian Religion, in allowing only one Wife, and making a Familiarity with any other Woman unlawful. 'Tis true, *adds he*, to our Confusion, the Dissoluteness of our Lives and Manners gives these Infidels just Occasion of Reproach and Raillery, and of telling us our Practice destroys our Principles. They are scandalized, not only at the Numbers, who violate the holy Rules of Christianity by an impure and abominable Life, but at the municipal Laws and known Privileges authorizing Fornication. This they prove from the publick Stews in *Italy*. They know Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick at *Venice* and *Naples*; that the *Courtizans* at *Rome*, and *Cantoneras* in *Spain*, make a Part of the Body of the State, and are under a legal Tax and Impost. They can't comprehend the Reasons on which this Policy is founded, nor what the *Italians* can say in Defence of such a Practice.

* Etat de l'Empire Ottom. l. 2. ch. 21.

Mr. Bayle goes on. ‘ *This Author should have carried his Sincerity a little farther, and ingenuously owned, that Spaniards and Italians are not the only Nations blameable. For bating the Tax and Imposts, the Courtizans of London don’t come behind those of Spain or Italy, either in Numbers, Impudence, or the peaceable Impunity they enjoy. Such a Relation as Mr. de St. Didier’s were useful to convince the World in this Point; and Mr. Ricaut should not have forgot old England, and so cheaply give up the Honour of other Nations to the Raileries of Infidels. However, this Reason of the Italians, which he says the Turks can’t comprehend, affords a cogent Argument. ’Tis well known, the Reason of their tolerating lewd Houses, is to prevent a worse Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour, &c.* ’

The Author of *the Fable*, without saying a Word of Sir Paul Ricaut, tells you, that he owes this Paragraph to Mr. Bayle ^z. It stands thus. ‘ *At Venice and Naples Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick; the Courtizans at Rome, and the Cantoneras in Spain, compose a Body in the State, and are under a legal Tax and Impost. It is well known, that the Reason why so many good Politicians as these tolerate lewd Houses, is not their Irreligion, but to prevent a worse Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour* ^a.

In Sir Paul Ricaut, it stands thus ^b: ‘ *And here the Turks upon occasional Discourses of the Severity and Strictness of the Christian Religion in Matters of*

^y *Pensées divers, &c.* Sect. 165.

^z P. 99.

^a P. 98.

^b Book 2. ch. 21.

‘ Concupiscence, telling them that no Copulation is
 ‘ allowable but in the Marriage Bed, and that restrain-
 ‘ ed and confined to one Wife, without the Addition
 ‘ of Slaves to satisfy with Variety the corrupted Fancy;
 ‘ that the very Thoughts of Lust and Concupiscence
 ‘ pollute the Purity of the Soul; *and that whosoever*
 ‘ *looks on a Woman to lust after her, commits Adultery in*
 ‘ *his Heart*; they presently deride these our Precepts
 ‘ and our Laws, which Christians not only with their
 ‘ Actions and corrupted Lives condemn as invalid, but
 ‘ Authority itself, not by a single Connivance only, but
 ‘ by Indulgences and Privileges, foment and encour-
 ‘ ages Persons walking contrary to that which is con-
 ‘ fessed to be an indispensable Law. For Proof where-
 ‘ of they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made
 ‘ an allowable Trade and Profession in *Venice* and *Na-*
 ‘ *ples*, and the City of *Rome*, and the *Gantoneras* in
 ‘ *Spain*, and framed into a politick Body (as it is rela-
 ‘ ted and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Tax-
 ‘ es and Impositions are raised: The *Turks* comprehend
 ‘ not the politick Grounds hereof, with which in *Italy*
 ‘ this Maxim is defended; nor is it fitting to produce
 ‘ the Reasons, or argue it with them; since the Benefit
 ‘ which accrues to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits
 ‘ that arise thence, being employed in the Maintenance
 ‘ of Gallies and Forces against Infidels, is the best can
 ‘ be said to hallow this Permission: But it is an impro-
 ‘ per Argument with a *Turk* to excuse this License and
 ‘ Authority to Sin, upon Considerations of being bet-
 ‘ ter able to war against the Professors of his Religion.
 ‘ And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced,
 ‘ but that this manner of Concubinage ‘ hath much
 ‘ more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being

‡ He means Polygamy, and the Use of their Female Slaves.

‘ free from Diseases and Foulness, than the want-
 ‘ dring Lusts of Stews, or Impudence of *Courtezans*,
 ‘ made bold and hard horeheaded by Concession of
 ‘ Authority.’ He then adds, ‘ *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
 ‘ & dici potuisse, &c.

I am afraid I have tired the Reader with these long Quotations. He will observe in several Instances, how disingenuously Mr. Bayle has dealt with Sir *Paul Ricaut*, and how obsequiously our Author has copied after him or his *English* Translator. That *Courtezans* were framed into a politick Body in *Venice, Naples, Rome, &c.* was an Opinion that prevailed among the *Turks*. No doubt but they thought they were an essential Part of the Constitution: and so far it is plain Sir *Paul Ricaut* represents it as a Mistake they were under. To say that our *Hawkers* in the Streets make a *politick Body*, or Body in the State, would certainly be a much truer and juster Account of them, which yet I believe would give a *Turk* but a wrong Notion of their Dignity and Consideration. Mr. Bayle puts it stronger yet, *Ay*, says he, *they know that Courtezans make Part of the Body of the State*^d. *Ay*, that they do, says his *English* Translator^e, and our Author humbly after him^f, *they compose a Body in the State*.

I believe there is no one who reads the Quotation in Mr. Bayle, but would really think Sir *Paul Ricaut* was, underhand, sneering the Christian Religion, and shewing how much the *Turks*, in Point of Argument, triumphed over it. It is a Way of talking so familiar to Mr. Bayle, that if he were to quote the most serious Passages out of other Authors, and put them into his own Language, it is odds but there would appear this

^d Font partie du Corps de l'Etat.

^e P. 354.

^f P. 98.

Turn of Ridicule in it. 'Tis true, adds he, to our *Confusion, the Dissoluteness of our Lives and Manners gives those Infidels just Occasion of Reproach and Raillery*^e. If Sir Paul Ricaut had said any Thing like this, why could not Mr. Bayle have trusted it with his Readers, by translating it fairly? And yet there is not one Word of this in Sir Paul Ricaut, nor any thing equivalent to it. He is complaining in a serious Christian-like manner, that the scandalous Toleration of publick Stews in some *Popish* Countries, and the Privileges allowed them, had given Offence to the *Turks*, and supplied them with an Opportunity of reproaching Christians, not so much that their Lives and Manners, as that their *Laws* and *established* Customs contradicted the Precepts of their Religion. Mr. Bayle, who is loath that any one Part of Christianity should be in better Repute with *Infidels* than another, immediately falls upon Sir Paul Ricaut, taxes him with want of Honesty and Sincerity, for so cheaply giving up the Honour of other Nations to the Railleries of *Infidels*, and not letting the Religion of his own Country come in for a Share of the Scandal. The *Turks*, says Sir Paul Ricaut, reproach Christians, that at *Venice, Naples, Rome, &c.* publick Stews are licensed by their Laws; that *Authority it self, not by a single Connivance only, but by Indulgences and Privileges foment and encourages Persons walking contrary to that which is confessed to be an indispensable Law*^f. Therefore Sir Paul Ricaut shews a want of Honesty and Sincerity, because he had not laid his own Country under the same Reproach among *Infidels*, where they are *not* licensed, nor allowed any Privileges at all; nay, where the Laws punish Fornication with so much Strictness, as to admit of common

^e Mr. Bayle's Pens. Diver,

^f Book 2. ch. 21.

Fame for sufficient Evidence against Persons accused of leading lewd and disorderly Lives. It was that Courtezans were tolerated by *Law*, that they were *framed into a politick Body* (as it was related and apprehended by the *Turks*) that gave them this occasion of reproaching Christianity, and not that some of its Professors did not strictly live up to the Precepts of it. It would indeed be absurd to suppose a *Turk* should make *that* his chief Objection against the Truth of the Christian Religion; which he could not but know would recoil with greater Force upon his own. We know for Instance, that the Use of Wine is strictly forbid to them ^g, which yet we are told was at that Time *publicly drank* among them, and *always* with great Excess ^h, *without Cautions, or fear of giving Scandal* ⁱ.

Mr. *Bayle's* writing in another Language, and probably understanding little or nothing of *English*, will be some sort of Excuse for him. But what shall we say to an *English* Writer, who, when he had occasion to quote a Book writ in the same Language, must have Recourse to this *Frenchman* or his Translator for the meaning of it? who thus blindly follows him wherever he has an Opportunity in his Errors and Misrepresentations of others?

I chose to mention this Instance, as it related to a Subject that will be spoke to more particularly hereafter. Whoever will be at the Pains to compare many Pages in this or any other of his Performances with the same Passages in Mr. *Bayle*, will soon find

^g Wine, Games of Hazard, &c. are Abominations and filthy Practices of the Devil.——The Devil desireth to sow Sedition among you thro^p Wine, &c. Abandon Wine, &c. *The Alcoran* Chap. 5. This, we are told, the Expositors of the Law have explained into a yet more superstitious Rigour.

^h The *Turks* think it impossible to drink Wine with Moderation. Sir *Pan! Ricant's* Present State of the *Ott.* Emp. Book 2. Ch. 25.

ⁱ Ibid.

more of the same Kind. To return to the Passage in *the Fable of the Bees*.

This Writer is every where valuing himself for his *tracing Self-love in its darkeſt Reſeſſes*^f, and for making *great Discoveries in the World of Self-Love*. What *Hurt*, ſays he, *do I do to Man, if I make him more known to himſelf than he was before*^g? This he gives an Inſtance of in the Words that introduce this Piece of Calumny upon the Chriſtian Martyrs. *There is no Pitch of Self-denial that a Man of Pride and Conſtitution cannot reach, nor any Paſſion ſo violent but he will ſacrifice it to another which is ſuperior to it*^h. That is, there is no Man ſo ſtrong but he will yield to one that is ſtronger, or at leaſt that ſtronger Man will get the better of him. Had he been content to ſay in a plain Way, that the ſtrongeſt Paſſions will ever get the better of weaker ones, the World perhaps would not have thought themſelves much obliged to him for the Diſcovery. This however would have been talking Senſe. But in order to *make you more known to yourſelf*, he has diſcovered, that you will ſacrifice the very ſtrongeſt Paſſion you have to one yet ſtronger. He goes on triumphing upon this Diſcovery; *And here, ſays he, I cannot but admire at the Simplicity of ſome good Men, &c.* Now whether good Men are the only People in the World who labour under this Infirmary, will deſerve his Conſideration before he writes another Panegyrick upon his Work.

It is preſumed the Reader is by this Time ſenſible what Uſage Religion has met with in *the Fable of the Bees*; not only that ſingle Paſſages in Scripture, but that Chriſtianity itſelf, nay, that the very firſt Principles of natural Religion are ſubverted, to make Way for this

*Book of exalted Morality, this infallible Touchstone, this System of Ethicks beyond any other*ⁱ. He seems to be now and then sensible, that this will be objected to him; and in one Place particularly he desires the Reader in his merry Way, that he may be considered as a good and devout Christian. After he has endeavoured to shew, that the Distinction between Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice, were the Contrivance of crafty Politicians, which with the Assistance of a Pack of Rascals they set a going, and made current in the World, he is pleased to propose this as the proper Ground-Work of Christianity: upon which he wraps himself up in a sort of Meditation, that his Adversaries will be content should pass for a compleat Defence of himself and his Writings, with as many as understand it^k. In the same manner they will give him leave to claim all those for Profelytes to his Opinions, who can find out the Meaning of his excellent Parable of *Small Beer*^l.

If in Defence of himself, or by Way of Objection to what has been said in the foregoing Papers, he should tell us he claims only a certain *Proportion* of every Vice, or some *particular* Vices only, as useful to a Society, neither will this Pretence be of any Use to him. For as what has been said to shew the Mischiefs of Vice and Roguery in general, will be found true as to every lesser Degree of them, so it is impossible to offer any Pleas in favour of that lesser Degree, that won't

ⁱ P. 467.

^k P. 43 and 44. If the too scrupulous Reader should at first View condemn those Notions concerning the Origin of moral Virtue, and think them perhaps offensive to Christianity, I hope he will forbear his Censures, when he shall consider, that nothing can render the unsearchable Depth of the Divine Wisdom more conspicuous, than that *Man*, whom Providence had designed for Society, should not only by his own Frailties and Imperfections be led into the Road to temporal Happiness, but likewise receive from a seeming Necessity of natural Causes, a Tincture of that Knowledge, in which he was afterwards to be made perfect by the true Religion, to his eternal Welfare.

^l From p. 262, to p. 267.

prove as strongly in favour of any Degree whatever.

Or what particular Crimes will he claim as useful beyond others? There is none that seems to have less to be said for it, nor any kind of Roguery more generally odious among us, than common Perjury (unless any one has a Mind to defend it out of Zeal to the late swearing Act.) An Oath has been generally look'd upon as one of the firmest Bonds of Society, and a general Disregard to the Obligations of it, to have an immediate Tendency to dissolve or destroy Society; and yet as mischievous as Perjury may be thought, it is as necessary to his Scheme, as any one Crime that can be named. How many Sages of the long Robe, and Dependants upon them, are employed in providing against the Mischiefs arising from Perjury, who all (according to him) would be left without Employment, if a punctual and religious Regard were always to be paid to an Oath, and the Obligations of it? How would it thin the Courts of Justice, if *the whole Truth and nothing but the Truth* were always to be given in Evidence?

But he must be very closely pursued, or else it must be only to amuse the World, if he takes Refuge in so idle an Excuse, and which the whole Tendency of his Scheme so plainly contradicts. That *private Vices are publick Benefits*, is asserted without Limitation; that *Evil moral as well as natural is the solid Basis*, &c. and when *the whole Mass was a Paradise*, the Reader will observe, he says, *every Part was full of Vice*. Till therefore he is pleased to retract these general Positions, or offers some Limitations to them, and defends them so limited, upon Principles consistent with common Sense; the Reader must conclude he intends them in the same Latitude, in which we find the Opinions first broached here in *England*.

But instead of explaining his Opinions, it was quite giving up his Cause, when in answer to the Present-

T

ment

nient of the Grand-Jury, he said, *the Encomiums upon Stews complained of were no where in the Book* ^p. Let the Reader turn to Page 95, and the following ones, and he will find nothing else but *Encomiums upon Stews*. Does not he say, *they preserve the Honour of our Wives and Daughters, guard the Innocence of Virgins and prevent Rapes* ^q? Does not he extol the *Wisdom* of the *Rulers* in *that well ordered City*, Amsterdam, for tolerating Stews? That *in this Toleration there is a great deal of Prudence and Oeconomy* ^r? Does not he cite with Applause the Example of other Countries, where good *Politicians tolerate lewd Houses, not out of Irreligion, but to prevent worse Evils, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour* ^s? Does not he for this Purpose quote in his Scholar-like Way the Authority of several other Writers? Does not he say, that Mr. Bayle a *French Writer* says, that Sir Paul Ricaut an *English Writer* says, that the *Turks* used to say to him, that they had heard, that in some *Christian Countries* Fornication was tolerated by the State, and made a kind of *Merchandize and Traffick* ^t? Again, does not he say, that Mr. Bayle says ^u, that Mr. de St. Didier says ^w, that one *Dogliani* says ^x, that the *Venetians* were much in the right to get Whores from Abroad, when they had not enough of their own at Home? Are these Things *no where in the Book*? Or are not these *Encomiums upon Stews*?

What Tendency these publick Stews (so piously recommended in this Treatise of *severe and exalted Morality*) have, towards preventing Adultery, Rapes, or other Crimes, or guarding the Innocence of Virgins, is the next Thing to be considered.

^p P. 468.

^q P. 95.

^r P. 95 and 96.

^s P. 98.

^t P. 98.

^u Pens. diver. Sect. 165.

^w Monsi. de St. Didier, Relat. de Venise, Chap. des Courtis.

^x Le Dogliani qui a écrit les choses notables de Venise.

S E C T. VI.

V I C E S as well as Virtues may be observed to have a Connexion with one another. For nothing can make a Man honest or virtuous but a Regard to some religious or moral Principles. Now the Obligation to all Virtues is the same : The same God and the same Voice of Nature, that says, *do not kill*, and *do not steal*, having said also *do not commit Adultery* *. So that a Man's indulging himself in one Vice, will naturally lead him on to the Commission of others ; or in other Words, an habitual Disregard to Virtue in any one Instance, will make the Practice of it seem of less Consequence in all.

If this be true with Regard to different Vices, it is yet more immediately so, as to the several Degrees of the same Vice. To apply this to the Case in Hand,

As there is plainly a Modesty implanted in our Nature, and intended as a Fence against the Commission of Vice, so it is particularly strong in the Instance of Lewdness. It is naturally as prevalent in *Men* as in *Women*, though Custom has been so kind to the *one*, as to make the Breach of it be thought a less Crime than in the *others*. This is very much strengthened by a Pleasure (or to give it the worst Turn, a Vanity) arising from the Consciousness of Innocence. When any one has found his Endeavours to conquer his Inclinations prove successful hitherto, it must encourage him the better to guard against Temptations for the future.

* Mark x. 19. and James ii. 11.

But when this Fence is once broken through, as the second Trespafs will be committed with much less Violence to himself than the first, so the Transitions from one Degree of Vice to another, will seem easy to him. *Nullus enim magni sceleris labor* ^y.

This is more especially true, where Vice is countenanced by *Authority*. For in that Case, *Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere quantum permittas, adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi*. It will be but a wretched Excuse for the Magistrate when he finds this Licence abused and stretched beyond the original Design of it, to say, *Hæc ego nunquam mandavi*; for the Answer will for ever hold true, *Mentis causa malæ tamen est, & origo penes te*. When any one finds his irregular Desires are heightened by *his* Encouragement, or assisted by *his* Connivance, it won't be in the Magistrate's Power to stop him in his Progress, or to fix the particular Bounds of Vice which he shall not pass, *Quem si revoces subsistere nescit, Et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis*.

If it were possible a young Fellow at first setting out, could have before his Eyes all the Consequences that an Indulgence of his Lust would ever be attended with; the Ruin of Women, the Dishonour of Families, the Wrong to Husbands, and the Torment and Diseases it might bring upon himself; I say, if all this were presented to his View, while he is yet innocent, he must be shocked at the Horror of the Scene, and would naturally resolve against the Commission even of the lesser Degrees of this Vice, if such an Excess of Guilt must be the fatal Effects of it. Now a constant Habit in any lesser Degrees of this Vice, is the ready Road to all this Mischiefe. It debauches the Mind, drowns Reflection, and lays Conscience asleep; by which

Means the Progress he makes in Vice is scarce perceptible even to himself.

In the Instance commonly look'd upon as the *least* criminal sort of Lewdness, it ought to be considered, that every one who frequents publick Stews, or deals in random Amours, sets out with an Uncertainty whether the Woman he has to do with be a Wife or no; and from an Uncertainty whether she is so or no, he will by Degrees grow very little shocked at a Certainty that she is so. It is but the same Crime he *may* have been guilty of before; and when he is sure of that, what greater Guilt can there be in a Commerce with one Man's Wife than another's? Till at last the Wife of his own Friend, if he has Opportunities for attacking her Virtue, and Skill enough to prevail, shall fall a Sacrifice to *his* Lust, who at first setting out, never dreamt of any greater Crime than what passes under the gentle Name of *simple Fornication*.

The Assistance of the Magistrate will make the Progress in this Vice still easier. It will be some sort of Excuse to People not much given to thinking (and God knows, a very slender Excuse will pass with *most* Men upon these Occasions) that the Magistrate himself allows of this Practice. There can be no great Harm sure in what our Governors themselves (who ought to know best) are pleased to encourage. If there is a Danger of committing Adultery in these *tolerated* Houses, it is a Danger they themselves are appriz'd of, and let them answer for the Guilt of it. These are the poor Shifts the *generality* of young and gay People (such of them I mean, who are not so harden'd as to want no Excuses at all) would be apt to take up with; which, if they don't prove themselves very *innocent*, do however shew their Governors to be very faulty in laying such Temptations in their Way.

I shall be told perhaps, there are Men of better Understandings, who won't be carried away with such weak Pretences; that such will make no other Use of this Licence, than what the Magistrate himself must be supposed to intend by it; and that these abhor Adultery as much as others of the strictest Virtue and Continence.

As to the first, it should be remembred, that Men of Pleasure are not very apt to enquire into the Grounds and Reasonableness of any Indulgence that is granted them, especially when it falls in so strongly with their own Inclinations, however inquisitive they may be; into the Nature and Extent of the Magistrate's Power, and the Prudence of his exerting it, when he attempts to abridge them of their Liberties.

As to the second, I would not be so uncharitable, as to suggest that *every* Man who frequents publick Stews, would go the utmost Lengths of this Vice. Some would be startled at the Thoughts of debauching and ruining of Women, and would never be prevailed upon to injure their Friend in what his Quiet and Happiness are so nearly and so essentially concerned in. Some of this Sort, I say, there may be. But when Opportunities fall in their Way, and the Hopes of Concealment appear pretty certain, such Instances I am afraid are not every Day to be met with. It is to be hoped the Men of this Turn have some Scheme of Principles to act upon, some Way of seriously interpreting the Precepts of Religion and Virtue different from other People, some Distinction to convince them that the lesser Degrees of Lewdness are *entirely* innocent^z, when the grosser Sorts of it appear to them *completely*

^z Bayle's Reflections occasioned by the Comet, &c. speaking of the Sin of Uncleanness, all Christians agree, that it is forbid by the Law of God. Sect. 162.

wicked ; in short, some consistent way of Thinking to reconcile their Practice to their cool and serious Opinions. That *there is no great Harm in a little Pleasure taken out of the Way*, may pass well enough in the Gayety of Company ; but when a Man converses only with himself, when he has not the Mirth of his Companions to assist and support the Weakness of such a Pretence, it can't have Force enough left in it to prevail with People of Sense. How then must we judge of Mankind ? A Punctilio of Honour may now and then restrain a Man from the grosser Injuries that attend the Practice of this Vice, but it is too *whimsical* and too *unsteady* a Principle to prevail with *many Men*, or with *any Man continually*. Where Opportunity is at Hand, and all Danger of Discovery at a Distance, what can stand in the Way to his Pleasure ? A Punctilio of Honour will be too weak to keep its Ground long, where Conscience has lost all footing before.

I think we may safely infer from hence, that the Numbers of those who have this Command over themselves, and stop short in the Progress of Vice ; who can resist the strongest Temptations, when the yielding to them exceeds the Bounds they have prescribed themselves, and yet can give into the lesser Degrees of this Vice, are extremely rare. It is indeed impossible they should be many, unless some settled Principle could be found out for them to act upon. It will be true then, *generally speaking*, that Men would fall into such a Progress of Vice as I have described, and that an Encouragement from the Magistrate would make it still easier.

And lastly, As to the Dread, which the Objection supposes these Men of better Understandings have of *Adultery itself*, the Sincerity of such a Profession may be judged of from their constant Practice. They run a very great Hazard of it in every random Amour they deal in. For there is no providing against Wives making

ing a Part of publick Stews, and it would be ridiculous to attempt it. And therefore the Author, instead of saying that Stews should be tolerated to preserve the Chastity of *Women of Honour*, might have owned at first (what he is forced to give into afterwards) that the State ought to debauch ^a some Women to preserve the Chastity of *others*; or in other Words, that in all well regulated Societies, like that of *Venice* ^b, the Magistrate ought to be Pimp General for his People.

And yet as barefaced a Piece of Wickedness, as such a Provision for Lust may appear, this or some such Method must constantly be taken to supply any tolerated Stews. That is, whenever there is a Scarcity of Strumpets who voluntarily offer themselves for publick Use, it is the Business of the Magistrate to employ a Set of hellish Agents in the Work of debauching Wives or Virgins, who are to serve as a Nursery for common Prostitution. But this indeed is a Mischief that nothing less than a Miracle can put us in any Danger of here. Supplies would come in sure fast enough, and if it were possible to suppose a want of them in other Countries, the Exportation of Whores might make a considerable Branch of Trade, and in Time go near to unpeople the Island.

The Women that supply the common Stews, were themselves once chaste and virtuous; and the Preservation of *their* Chastity was of as much Value and Concern to the Commonwealth, as that of other Women; and such of the Plyers there, as the Stews don't actually *debauch*, they do at least *continue* and *confirm* in their *Debauchery*; they prevent any Amendment of their Lives by securing a sort of Retreat for their Prostitution.

^a P. 99.

^b P. 98, and 99.

This Retreat, the more commodious it is made for them, the greater Encouragement it will give to Lewdness; and the less Esteem will Women set upon their Virtue, when the Inconveniencies attending the Loss of it are so handsomely provided against.

When the Author therefore talks with so much Reverence of *Women of Honour* ^c, one would think he should mean only *modest* Women. If he intends it in any other Sense, all Women are alike *Women of Honour* till they are debauched, and it is alike the Duty and Interest of the Magistrate to keep them so. The tattered Cloaths of the poorest Wretch may contain as much Virtue in them, as the splendid Dress of a Countess; and it is out of mere Respect to Quality one would avoid pursuing the Comparison.

If *Courtezans and Strumpets* were to be prosecuted with as much Rigour as some silly People would have it (says the Author) ^d, what Locks or Bars would be sufficient to preserve the Honour of our Wives and Daughters? Whose Wives and Daughters does he talk of? If the Honour of some Mens Wives and Daughters is to be so tenderly taken Care of, why must a *Sacrifice* ^e be made of other Mens Wives and Daughters to procure that Safety for them? For whose Pleasure and Gratification must these Houses be tolerated? If it is chiefly to serve the Lust of *Men* above the common Sort, or out of a Pretence to guard the Chastity of *Women* of Fashion, common Justice will dictate that the Price of all this should come from People of the same Rank, and Women of Condition stand at least the common Lot of Prostitution to preserve the Chastity of the rest. There is no great Danger that Men of the lower Sort should attempt the Chastity of their Betters, unless the first Over-

^c P. 95, 98, and 99.

^d P. 95.

^e P. 99.

tures came from *thence*. Why then should not the Return be equal? Or with what Justice can Governors interpose to prevent this, and have in View the debauching poor Women to preserve the Honour of their own Wives and Daughters?

If any Man grown insolent from his Birth or Fortune should feel any Indignation from the Freedom of this Way of Reasoning; if either the Husband, Father, Brother, Kinsman, or Friend should rise up within him to demand Regard to the Honour and Chastity of the Person under his Care; if he finds himself shocked even at the Hazard she would run of serving the Town as a common Prostitute, in case the Numbers for that Purpose were to be decided by Lot; if he feels any thing of this, let him remember, first, that the Publick is concerned in one as much as the other: Then, let him consider, what Pain the *poor* Man must suffer from the Debauchery of a Child he placed his chief Comfort in; one whom he hoped to see the virtuous Wife of some plain honest Man, but whom by the Encouragement of the Magistrate he now sees debauched, or at least continued a Prostitute in *tolerated Stews*? There are poor Men who have as quick a Sense of Shame as their Betters, and of the Blemish themselves and Relations receive from such a Way of Life. And it will be but a slender Satisfaction to him, that his Wife or Daughter is prostituted to the Lust of those who would otherwise attempt the Honour of some richer Woman. Even in common Cases (whatever the Pride of Wealth and Birth may suggest) there are poor Men, who have no Ambition to have the mean healthy Blood that would run in the Veins of their Posterity, improved from the Vices and Diseases of Quality. But perhaps it was unnecessary to insist so much upon this.

For allowing for once (as the Author would have it) that the Magistrate may lawfully debauch *poor Wenches*, to preserve the Chastity of *Gentlefolks*; does he think that a Toleration of Stews would have that Effect in *England*? And that if the Magistrate were to endeavour it, it would be possible to restrain this Prostitution to Women only of the lowest Degree? at a Time when Vanity and Extravagance are arrived to such a height among us, *the awkward Manner, hard Hands, coarse Breeding, and tawdry Dress of the Wenches, who in the Day time carry Fruit about in Wheelbarrows* ^f, would not go down so well with the *English* Taste. Our Gentry are seldom so frugal in their Pleasures as a *Dutch Sailor* ^g; and to their Shame be it spoken, I am afraid many of them would outbid even a Burghomaster of *Amsterdam*. Large Prices will naturally raise the Ambition of the Traders to gratify the Taste of their Customers with better Fare. In a Country therefore so polite as ours is, we should have different *Ranks* of Whores for the different Quality of Guests. We are very apt to improve, and no doubt but very soon, besides the *tolerated Stews* for Women of the lower Sort, we should have *tolerated Assemblies* for Ladies of better Fashion. I say, by the Assistance of the Court and Magistrates, all this, *and other Improvements*, might reasonably be expected. There would be no Fear of such a Scarcity, as to oblige the Parliament to *procure a Number of Whores from foreign Parts* ^h.

It will be found, I am afraid, that the Danger of this is not altogether imaginary. For besides the Temptation Women of Condition would be under from the Unfashionableness of Marriage (which would soon be

the Consequence of tolerated Stews) the Sex in general, even at present, seem to be strangely infected with a sort of Curiosity, like that of poor *Dinah*, to go out and see the Sons as well as the *Daughters of the Land*ⁱ; to see them in all Shapes and Attitudes, in all Guises and Disguises, Habits, and no Habits; to see what their Behaviour would be in a State of Nature, free from the Restraints that Education, Custom and Decency have lain them under. When this Humour prevails so strongly among them, and the *Sichems* so much abound in this our Land, the Friends, Guardians, or Brothers of any Damsel, seem to have very little Reason to be amazed at the Consequence, or to cry out as if it were some unexpected Disaster, *should he deal with our Sister as with an Harlot*^k?

I don't mean however that Masquerades are quite new among us, though they never were till now made a general Entertainment. And therefore if the learned Bishop, who lately told his Audience, that *this Diversion was brought among us by the Ambassador of a neighbouring Prince in a late Reign*^l, means, that it was then first brought among us, that this is one of the various *Engines of Vice contrived by the present corrupt Generation*^m, we must attribute the Mistake to his hasty Zeal against those dangerous Men, who by means of that single Masquerade intended to *enslave us*; and who knows, but the *Measures* he speaks of, were then, and there concerted for that Purpose? When such Company meet, what mayn't we reasonably suspect to be carrying on? The Pope and the Devil were certainly there, and it is well known in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*,

ⁱ Gen. xxxiv. 1.^k *Ibid.* verse last.^l Bishop of *London's* Sermon to the Societies for Reformation of Manners. p. 20.^m *Ibid.* p. 18.

that these *two* seldom appear in Masquerade without a *third* Person in Company.

As far back as *Edward* the Third's Time (and possibly there may be Instances long before) we are told of a Masquerade or *Mumming*, made *by the Citizens* for *Disport of the young Prince Richard, Son to the Black Prince* ⁿ. This indeed seems to be only an innocent *Christmas* Gambol, without the least view to intriguing, where a hundred and thirty Citizens went to Court masqued, with great Shew and Finery, and after much Feasting, Musick and Dancing, they retired Home in good Order.

The like *Christmas* Entertainment was made for *Henry* the Fourth at *Eltham*. *Twelve Aldermen and their Sons* rode in a *Mumming* to the great Satisfaction of the Court ^o. However, there is not yet any mention of their Wives and Daughters.

Harry the Eighth was himself a noted Masquerader. It is plain Love Affairs had by this Time got a footing in them. Indeed the Masquerade that was made for him and the King of *France* by *Anne Bolen* at *Calais* ^p, had no other Effect (that we know of) than the hastening an intended Marriage.

But we have yet more certain Authority, that before this, Wit and Gallantry had made a considerable Progress there. In the beginning of the same Reign, an Act of Parliament pass'd to suppress them, which sets forth, that 'Forasmuch as lately within this Realm, diverse Persons have disguised and apparelled themselves, and covered their Faces with Vizors or other other Things, in such manner as they should not be

ⁿ *Stow's Survey of London*, Vol. i. p. 252. printed in 1720.

^o *Ibid.*

^p *Lord Herbert's Hist. of Hen. 8th.*

known: And diverse of them in a Company together, naming themselves Mummers, have come to the dwelling Place of diverse Men of Honour, and substantial Persons, and so departed unknown: Whereupon Murders, Felony, Rape, and other great Hurts and Inconveniencies have afore-time grown, and hereafter be like to come by the Colour thereof, if the said Order should continue not reformed. Wherefore be it enacted, &c.

I don't pretend that they were yet in tolerable Perfection. We find the Ladies were somewhat coy; but I can assure the Reader, that after this I don't meet with one Instance of a Rape committed in them. All Arts and Inventions require Time for Improvement.

Polydor Vergil, who writ his Book *de Inventoribus rerum* a few Years after the passing this Act, has given us an Account of the Condition of Masquerades in his own Country at this Time. *Nostri morem induendi personas non uno vel altero die, nec sacrorum causa, sed turpi insaniendi studio, duos continuos menses ante quadragesimæ initium stolidè servant, sub quibus, inveterata jam deliranda licentia, sexcenta flagitia quotidie faciunt & illud impune, perinde quasi eo modo, cuique liceat esse scelerato, nihilque maleficii credatur committi, si vera hominis facies non videatur, perinde ac non pateamus etiam Deo.* In the next Words he pays a Compliment to *Englishmen*, which even at that Time it is plain they had very little right to. *Una omnium regionum Anglia ejusmodi personatas Belluas hætenus non videt, nec quidem vult videre; quando apud Anglos, in re hac præ aliis certè sapientiores, Lex est, ut capitale sit, si quis personas induerit*¹. Mr. Prynne says², that Polydor Vergil means by this the Act of Parliament mentioned just now. If so, the

¹ L. 1. c. 2. p. 335 and 336.

² *Histrion-Mastix*, p. 494.

very Preamble to the Act might have informed him that these *personatæ Belluæ* had made their Appearance in *England* long before ; and that therefore this singular Character for Wisdom was very ill bestowed upon us. Besides, he mistook the Punishment, which was not *Capital* by that Act (nor indeed by any Law whatever) but only three Months Imprisonment, and a Fine at the Discretion of the Justices.

The Masquerades in *James* the First's Time leave no room to suspect there were any Rapes committed in them. Let the Reader take the Account of them from the Historian himself. Speaking of the Queen, he says, ' She was not without some Grandees to attend her for outward Glory ; the Court being a continued Maskarado, where she and her Ladies, like so many Sea-Nymphs or Nereids appeared often in various Dresses, to the Ravishment of the Beholders : The King himself not being a little delighted with such fluent Elegancies, as made the Nights more glorious than the Day. But the Latitude that these highflying Fancies, and more speaking Actions gave to the lower World, to judge and censure even the greatest with Reproaches, shall not provoke me so much as to stain the innocent Paper. I shall only say in general, that Princesses, by how much they are greater than others, are look'd upon with a more severe Eye. If their Virtues be not suitable to their Greatness, they lose much of their Value : For it is too great an Allay to such a Refinedness to fall under the common Cognizance ^a.

We have one Instance in the following Reign upon the Birth of the Duke of *York* by the four Inns of Court : An Entertainment of that Magnificence, that

^a *Wilson's Life of James 1st.*

we are told, it cost above 20,000 *l.*^b; but this was little more than a Piece of Pageantry. Indeed the Names of the Persons^c who had the Management of it, are enough to satisfy us of what kind it was.

In *Charles* the Second's Time they were much of the modern Turn; unlike them only in this one Circumstance, that the Historian seems to attribute them to a *great Dissolution of Morals in the Court*^d. He gives the following Account of them. ' At this Time the Court
' fell into much Extravagance in Masquerading, both
' King and Queen, and all the Court, went about masked,
' ed, and came into Houses unknown, and danced
' there with a great deal of wild Frolick. In all this
' People were so disguised, that without being on the
' Secret, none could distinguish them. They were carried
' about in Hackney Chairs. Once the Queen's
' Chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her,
' so she was alone, and was much disturbed, and came
' to *Whitehall* in a Hackney Coach: Some say it was
' a Cart.' This gave so much Scandal, that we are told in the next Words, *Buckingham* took the Advantage of her Behaviour, and ' proposed to the King,
' that he would give him Leave to steal her away, and
' send her to a Plantation, where she should be well
' and carefully look'd to, but never heard of more.' This was to give Occasion to a Divorce, but ' the King
' rejected it with Horror.' And the Queen being told of the *Indecency* of her Behaviour, thought it proper to give over such *wild Frolick*.

^b See a Description of it in *Whitlock's Memorials*. It was afterwards repeated in the City.

^c Mr. Noy, Mr. Selden, Mr. Hyde, Mr. *Whitlocke*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, Sir *John Finch*, &c.

^d *Burnet's History of his own Times*, p. 262.

The Masquerade in the late Queen's Time is fresh in every ones Memory. The Design of this Entertainment we are informed of by the worthy Bishop mentioned *before*. *I cannot forbear to add (says he) that all religious Considerations apart, this is a Diversion that no true Englishman ought to be fond of, when he remembers that it was brought among us by the Ambassador of a neighbouring Nation in the last Reign, while his Master was in Measures to enslave us* ^e. A Passage full of curious Observation, were it proper at this Time to enlarge upon it. One thing however I can't avoid mentioning. It is to do Justice to the Memory of that excellent Queen, who, by those who are not acquainted with the Bishop's Duty and pious Regard for so steady a Promoter of Virtue and Religion, might be thought, from this Passage, to have encouraged or assisted this *Engine of Vice and Profaneness* ^f. It was doubtless for want of Room in so short a Discourse, that the Bishop had not informed his Audience, that upon the first Representation of the Tendency of them, she gave immediate Orders there should be no more of them. It had been strange indeed, had she (*considering the Proneness of Mankind, to fall into the Diversions and Manners of those who are of a superior Rank and Character* ^g) countenanced, if I may so say, any such fatal Snare, any loose Assemblies, any pernicious Invention that intrenches Vice and Profaneness against all the Assaults and Impressions of Shame, in which Lewdness may be concerted, Luxury, Immodesty and Extravagance may be committed in Word and Deed; in short, any thing of such terrible Consequence to Virtue and good Manners ^h. As the Voice of the People so generally concurred with her in the Choice of her Mini-

^e The Bishop of London's Sermon. p. 20.

^f Ibid. p. 18.

^g Ibid. p. 19.

^h Ibid.

sters, and the Approbation of their Conduct, she could have no Occasion to pursue the Advice recommended in *Lucan*, *Libertas scelerum est quæ regna invisa tuetur*ⁱ. A sort of Liberty People have often paid dear for in other Countries ; for as the Bishop says in the next Words to these quoted above, *There is not a more effectual Way to enslave a People, than first to dispirit them by Licentiousness and Effeminacy.*

I shall only observe with relation to the present Masquerades, that the *Scheme* lately set on Foot for their Improvement, by a Set of *gallant* Gentry among us, seems to have been wholly unnecessary. The Pretence for it was, that though great *Immodesty in Word and Deed* might be committed in them, and much *Lewdness concerted*^k; yet it was not often that *here* Love-Affairs could be carried farther, that People's Minds only could be debauched in them; by which Means, excepting that they were frequented only by *Women of Honour*, they differed but little from the *Temples of Venus at Amsterdam*^l. I shall not enquire at present whether all this be strictly and universally true of them. But surely *the Times don't stand in need of such a Scheme, nor such Projectors* to hasten the Progress they have visibly made already. The Matter is in very able Hands ; and whatever fond Opinion these Gentry might entertain of their own Parts, perhaps we have not one *Englishman* among us equal to the Work. They need not despair but the present sort of Masquerades in a few Winters more (unless the Jealousy of Husbands and Fathers should unexpectedly interpose to put an end to them) will

ⁱ L. 8.

^k The Bishop of *London's* Sermon, p. 19.

^l They are only Places to meet and bargain in, to make Appointments, in order to promote Interviews of greater Secrecy. *Fable of the Bees*, p. 96.

bring about every thing to their Wishes. *The Worship of Diana* (in this Sense too) is much *out of Fashion* already ^m. To return.

It must be left with the Reader to judge, how far *tolerated Stews* (by what better Name soever Fashion may dignify them) would *secure the Chastity of Women of Honour* ⁿ.

But to go on. The Advocates for publick Stews seem to lay it down as an undeniable Truth, that all who are unmarried, must needs be guilty of this Vice; or at least, as Mr. Bayle computes, that *out of a hundred you won't meet with one who is clear of it* ^o. An Assertion that shews as great an Ignorance of the World, as to say that all People are clear of it. If the Necessity for it were so great, why should it not always be as common with unmarried Women as Men? If we are to believe Mr. Bayle, it should be more so ^p. It will be said perhaps, that it is the want of Opportunity in *them* that prevents it; and would not then the same want of Opportunity prevent it in Men? Or can any Thing furnish either Sex so conveniently as *tolerated Stews*? This is therefore another Mischief arising from them. Many a one, from too much Indolence, or too little Understanding, would not think of carrying on a tedious and difficult Intrigue with a modest Woman, who would yet be at the Pains of going to a certain Rendezvous of Debauchery. No doubt but the Youth in Time may receive Improvement in these Schools, till by Degrees he grows fit for more difficult Wickedness. And I believe very few Instances can be

^m P. 342.

ⁿ P. 99.

^o Out of a hundred Men, I question whether you will find one, without Reproach upon this Account. *His Reflections occasioned by the Comet, &c.* Sec. 162.

^p It is very apparent that this Passion is more violent in Women than in Men. *Ibid.*

given, where modest Women have ever been debauched by Men, that were themselves till then entirely innocent. Skill and Wickedness both come by Practice, there is no being great in either all at once.

As there are many who from an Indolence in their Nature would not be at any great Pains, or submit to a tedious Assiduity, to compass the Ruin of Innocence, and to purchase the short-lived Pleasure arising from the Conquest of it; so there are vast Multitudes of others so taken up with the necessary Attendance upon their Business and Professions, as not to have Time for it. But this convenient Institution will remove all Difficulties, by charitably conforming to the Humours of the one, and the Occasions of the other. So happily is it contrived, that the Inactivity and Laziness of Men, Qualities that stand in the Way to any eminent Degree of Goodness, should, by means of this, be no Hindrance to their Proficiency in Wickedness! That the very Dulness of their Understandings, which incapacitates them from being greatly serviceable to Mankind, should not prevent their being instrumental in the Work of a general Debauchery! That their Hurry of private Affairs, which allows them but little Time to concert Schemes for advancing Religion and Virtue in the World, or to seek Opportunities for employing their charitable Offices towards the Amendment of others, should yet leave them room to practise and promote as much Lewdness as their Constitutions will give them leave! Here without Trouble, Contrivance or Delay, every one may be as wicked as he pleases. So effectually would these Temples of *Venus* prevent Whoring, and promote the Cause of Chastity!

But the Advocates for licensed Stews seem to think the Chastity of the Men of so little Value, as not to be worth their's, or the publick Notice. On the other hand, the very Method laid down by them for guarding

the Virtue of Women, is by supplying the Men with the most convenient and constant Opportunities for Lewdness, as if the Chastity of one Sex were best secured by the greatest Debauchery of the other. But they themselves know better the natural Tendency of publick Stews; and whatever the avowed Pretence may be, the Means are not so disproportioned to the End really designed by them. Shame or Modesty in each Sex is the great Barrier that stands between them; when this is quite broken down on one Side, the better Half of the Difficulty is got over; for it is a greater Violence to Modesty to ask, than to yield upon being ask'd.

How far Opportunity itself promotes all Degrees of this Vice, will appear too from Experience. I presume it won't be denied, that People in the Country of all Ranks, generally speaking, enjoy as much Health as the Inhabitants of this crowded City, and consequently those natural Desires must be at least as strong in *them*, as in *these*. Neither will it I presume be denied, that the Practice of Lewdness is much less frequent among all sorts of People in the Country, than in Town. If it be said that a Habit of this Vice once established begets a Necessity for continuing it, even where there is a less Share of Health or natural Vigour, the Question will recur, to what was that Habit owing? In the Country there are few of those *Temples of Venus* ^q, and yet *Ravishing* is not a common Crime *there* ^r.

Suppose now that the Author's Project were put in Execution, and extended every where (as sure it ought to be, if it be so useful a one;) suppose that not only the larger *Towns* in the Country, but every *Parish* had one of those *Temples of Venus* in them, to be licensed every Year by the Justices, as Ale-Houses are now;

^q P. 97.^r P. 95.

Can any one seriously think that such a *Toleration* would promote the Cause of Chastity in either Sex? That it would *prevent* any *worse Evil* that is now committed there? Any *Impurity of a more execrable Kind*? Or even *provide better for the Safety of Women of Honour* ^f? And yet as ludicrous as this Question may appear, no Reason can be given why a Toleration of Stews in every Parish should not promote the Cause of Chastity as effectually in *them*, as in the most populous City in the World. If these sorts of Houses in Town WERE *prosecuted with as much Rigour as the silly People* the Author mentions *would have it*, and as they certainly would be, if any such were known in the Country, the Practice of Lewdness must needs be *more difficult*, and probably, upon that Account, less frequent. If half the Pains and Resolution were shewn by Men in the same Rank and Station, in destroying and putting down Stews, that have lately been exerted in putting an end to Gaming-Houses, in all Probability the Success would be proportionably as great; and the Practice of this Vice be laid under almost as great Difficulties as the other. I say, by Men of the same Rank and Station; for it is not to be imagined, that a few reforming Constables, liable to be tempted by the lowest Bribe, encouraged *only* by a Discourse from the Pulpit once a Twelvemonth (though it were the best that Religion and good Sense ever inspired) are sufficient to stem the Torrent of Vice and Debauchery that prevails in this Town. I should be very loth to be thought to undervalue the Merit of these Gentlemen, who have so happily put a Check to that destructive Vice of Gaming, and for which their Country stands deeply indebted to them; or even to blame the less effectual Endeavours

of other Men to prevent the Growth of Debauchery among us: All I meant was, to shew, from the great Success the former have met with, that the Prevention of Vice, at least a greater Progress of it, is not so desperate or romantick an Undertaking as some Men love to represent it, especially if the Endeavours towards it were openly countenanced by Authority ^t.

All the Pleas for the Necessity of publick Stews are reducible to this, that Men have natural Desires which must be satisfied. But these Desires being common to both Sexes, if they are irresistible in the one, it is presumed they are altogether as prevalent in the other ^u. And if so, I would desire the Advocates for publick *Female* Stews to produce one Argument in their Favour, which is not equally strong for the Toleration of *MALE* Stews; that is, why the Conveniency of *Women* of Fashion, their Interest and Inclinations, should not be consulted as much in the Toleration of the one, as the Conveniency of *Gentlemen* in the Establishment of the other; why a new Order of Lay *Monks* should not be instituted as well as Lay *Nuns*, for the Service of each respective Sex, where Prostitution instead of Chastity, should be their Duty and Profession ^x. Why, says the Author, *it is the Interest of the Society that Women should linger, waste and dye, rather than relieve*

^t *There is a remarkable Passage in Mr. Bayle, that is very strong to this Purpose. All Christians are agreed that Uncleannefs is forbid by the Law of God. And yet out of a hundred Men, I question whether you will find one who is free from this Reproach. How happens this? Because the Magistrate gives no Body any Trouble or Disturbance upon this Account. Mr. Bayle's Reflections, Sect. 162.*

^u *It is very apparent that this Passion is more violent in Women than in Men. Mr. Bayle's Reflections. Sect. 162.*

^x *Montaigne in reckoning up the monstrous Opinions and Practices in some Countries (upon the Plan of Sextus Empiricus) says, that in Fact there is a Place where there are publick Brothels of Men. Il en est, ou il se void des Bordeaux publics de Masles. L. 1. c. 22.*

themselves in an unlawful manner ^y. If this be intended as a Sneer upon the unreasonable Custom of the World for making this Difference (for the ingenious Author has such a Way with him, that it is very hard to know, when he is in earnest and when not ; if this, I say, be his meaning) it is giving up the Point contended for. But if it is his serious Opinion, that *it is the Interest of the Society, that Women should linger, waste and dye, &c.* What in the Name of common Sense should hinder it from being the Interest of the Society, that the Men should practise some Share of this Self-denial too? For the *same* Degree of Virtue or Self-denial it is not in their Power to practise ; because it is more in their Power to relieve themselves by Marriage than Women, who by common Custom are hindred from such Relief, till they have withstood a great deal of Invitation. If he says, that such an Indulgence to unmarried Women would infect their Conduct afterwards ; it must be allowed him it would certainly have this Effect ; but then it would as certainly have this Effect upon the Behaviour of the Men too. This is therefore another Inconvenience arising from these publick Stews.

For besides that they promote Adultery, by giving Opportunities for Men to frequent them after Marriage, their having ever frequented them while single, has a lasting Influence upon their after Lives. If a Man has indulged his Lust to such a Degree as to weaken his natural Appetites, *Jealousy* and all its cursed Train of Attendants (which there will be but too often just Occasion for) will soon get hold of him. But though he should meet with an uncommon Share of Virtue in a Wife, under strong Temptations to the contrary, yet

the ill Opinion he brings with him of the Sex, contracted from an Experience of the bad Part of them, will raise Suspicions from the slightest Circumstances and most innocent Behaviour, and very often improve those Suspicions into positive Proof and Conviction. If on the other hand his Faculties remain in full Vigour, the Love of that Variety that has hitherto entertain'd his Senses, must remain as strong as ever ; and this it is probable he will still give Way to and indulge. But though he should, from a Sense of the many Inconveniencies that would attend the Pursuit of his Lust, ever get the better of this vicious Inclination, yet the Conflict he must undergo in the Way to it, the very Struggle he will feel within himself, to get the entire Mastery of a Passion he has received so much Pleasure from, will too often grow into an Aversion towards the Cause that has produced so painful an Effect in him. And thus it won't be difficult to account for it, why so few of our *reformed* Debauchees (as they are called) enjoy much Happiness in a married Life themselves, or confer any great Portion of it upon their Wives. But this is a Truth that few of our gay tempered Ladies care to be convinced of, till Diseases and Misery have confirmed it to them.

When I say that Men will indulge themselves in the same Variety provided their Faculties remain in Vigour, I don't mean that this is not very often the Case after they are weaken'd and destroyed. An Itch after Variety may haunt them like a Ghost, long after the true natural Appetite is dead and gone. Thus it is to be feared, many of our puny Men of Quality wander Abroad, when there would be no great Danger of Excess at Home, tho' their Constancy were ever so remarkable.

But to go on. However violent or irresistible the Desire may be that each Sex has to the other, it was given them by Nature for wise and necessary Purposes. And the Wisdom and Policy of all Governments have fallen in with this natural Inclination, by giving all possible Encouragement to Marriage. But the Design of each would be in a great Measure disappointed, if those natural Desires could be so commodiously satisfied another Way. It is only in this Sense true then, that if Stews were openly encouraged, *honest Women* might go *unmolested*^z. Unmolested indeed most of them would be for any honest Purposes: But whether such a general Neglect of them, such an *unmolested* State, would tend much to the Preservation of their Chastity, must be left to the Reader's Sagacity to determine. Comparing this with what has been said before, I am afraid it will appear but too probable, that our *tolerated Stews* (call them by what Name you will) would soon have a great Number of *Women of Honour* resort to them. It would furnish Ladies with some kind of Excuse for going to Masquerades, and frequenting some sort of Assemblies.

But unmarried Women are not the only People that would suffer from these Stews. It would be impossible to provide against Husbands frequenting them; and as this would naturally occasion, so it would in some Measure justify a Return of the same kind from their Wives.

Again. Political Writers seem all to agree, that Numbers of People increase a national Wealth; which is certainly true as long as there is any Room for improving their own Soil, or extending their Commerce to Advantage. But publick Stews greatly lessen the Num-

ber of Births ; which is apparent as well from the Hindrance they give to Marriage, as from the Diseases they occasion, and the feeble Constitutions they entail upon the scanty Posterity that is generally derived from such debauched Parents.

We have hitherto considered what this Author has urged in Defence of tolerated Stews from the Nature and Tendency of them : But besides all these good Reasons in their Favour, he has the Authority of other Countries to countenance his Opinion.

In *Italy*, he says, *the Toleration of Strumpets is barefaced. At Venice and Naples Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick, and Courtezans at Rome compose a Body in the State.* And he is mightily pleased with their Policy at *Venice*, when in a Scarcity of this sort of *Traffick*, they sent for a large Cargo of Whores from foreign Parts ^a. [Here no doubt the Reader will observe that the Policy so much commended in this System of *severe and exalted Morality*, is more than a bare *Connivance* at Prostitution ^b.] *The Reason why so many good Politicians as these, tolerated lewd Houses, is not, he says, their Irreligion, but to prevent a worse Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour* ^c. It is hard to guess what sort of Impurities he means ; for if our Travellers thither are not in a general Confederacy to deceive us, the most vile and execrable Pieces of Wickedness are daily acted over in those hellish Assemblies. Their very Women serve for the most *unnatural* sort of Lust. Now instead of this, the Reader sure might reasonably expect, the Author should justify the Policy he bestows such Encomiums upon, by shewing the good Effects these Stews have had upon the Morals of the People in *Italy*. He should

^a P. 99.^b P. 98.^c Ibid.

have shewn, that *simple* Fornication was the greatest Crime known there; that these *tolerated* Temples of *Venus* had banished all groffer and more execrable sorts of Lewdness from the Country. It might surely be expected he should say at least, that Women of Honour might appear publickly unveiled and unmasked without any Attack upon their Virtue; and that Husbands and Fathers were no longer in Pain for their Behaviour. But this is a Description that *Italy* could not be known by. It is so far from being the Case in fact, that there is scarce a Country in the World where there are so many Instances of Adultery, though the natural Jealousy of the Husband be very great, and the Practice rendred very unsafe and dangerous, by the bloody Resentment of the injured Person, not only upon evident Proof, but the slightest Suspicion; a Smile or a Look being thought a sufficient Pretence for Assassination. I presume it will appear more probable, that this greater Frequency of Adultery here than elsewhere, is owing to an open Encouragement of Stews, than that this Encouragement should prevent a still greater Progress of Lewdness, which there seems to be no room left for. All the Youth of the Nation receive, as it were, a Part of their Education in these *Temples*; and no wonder the Wife and Daughters should not think there is much Harm in what young Master is always encouraged to practise. Thus Vice grows familiar to them from their Infancy; and where all the natural Horror of it is worn off so early, the Practice will so on succeed. If Girls set out with such Principles, it must not be expected, that Marriage should all of a sudden give them better; especially where it is so much a Custom for Husbands to frequent Stews themselves, and run into all kinds of Debauchery, as to leave their Wives the least Share of their Conversation.

As the want of Opportunity makes the Practice of
all

all sorts of Lewdness less frequent in the Country than in Town, and as *England* in general, from the want of a publick Licence, and legal Encouragement of Stews, is not yet quite so remarkable for this sort of Wickedness, as some of our Neighbours; so *Italy* from the contrary Policy, besides an equal Share at least of the common Degrees of this Vice, has the Infamy to be distinguished for the grosser Sorts of it in so remarkable a manner, that all unnatural sorts of Lust pass with us under the Name of ITALIAN Vices. This is the Country, which this *Book of severe and exalted Morality* proposes as an Example for the Imitation of *England*.

I would not be understood to mean that there never were any tolerated Stews in *England*. *Stow*^d tells us of several Regulations concerning the Stews in *Southwark*, in an Act of Parliament that pass'd at *Westminster* the 8th of *Henry II*^d. (in the Year 1162.) And *Daniel* in the Life of that King does say, that a Parliament was held at *Westminster* about that Time, which others however think was only a Council of Bishops^e, met about subjecting the Offences of the *Clergy* to the Cognizance and Punishment of the *Civil Magistrate*. But, as no mention is made of these Regulations concerning Stews, nor indeed of any other Law that pass'd there at that Time, either by *Spelman* or others who have collected the Laws before *Magna Charta*, it is more probable that these were only Constitutions relating to the Lordship of *Winchester*, and confirmed by the King^f. This carries us back to within sixty Years of the Time Marriage was prohibited to the Clergy. And as these very Regulations suppose the *Stews* to

^d *Stow's Survey of London*, Vol. 2. p. 7. printed in 1720.

^e *Kenner's Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 134.

^f Vid. a Paper in the *Philosophical Transactions*, *Jones's Abridgment*, Vol. 2. p. 382.

have been subsisting some Time before ^s, and as History (for our Records do not reach so far) have not made the least mention of them before this (I say, comparing these Things together) it will appear very probable that the Stews owe their Rise to this Injunction of Celibacy to the Clergy. This certainly furnished a more plausible Excuse for them, than their present Advocates can urge in their Behalf. They continued ^h (excepting a short Interruption now and then from the Greatness of the Disorders committed in them) till the 37th of Henry VIII. soon after the Liberty of Marriage was restored to the Clergy, when they were finally put an End to. And surely they can never gain a footing here again, but among the rest of the Attendants upon Popery.

Agreeable to this was that Answer of the merry Mr. Heywood to Queen Mary, upon the Queen's telling him that *the Clergy must forego their Wives: Your Grace* (says he) *must allow them Lemons then, for the Clergy cannot live without Sawce* ⁱ; meaning, no doubt, the Necessity there would be of reviving the Stews, so lately put down by her Father, *Leman* being an old English Word for a Priest's Harlot.

To return to our Purpose. It is far from being true that these Stews did in fact prevent any worse Evil, any Impurity of a more execrable kind ^k. On the other

^s The Expression is, according to the old Customs that had been there used Time out of Mind. *Indeed Time out of Mind in the Law Sense at present reaches back to a fixt Period at a vast Distance. The meaning here is no more than a Time beyond common Memory; which will agree well enough to the Time Marriage was prohibited to the Clergy.*

^h There is a remarkable Record of them in Richard II's Time, when they seem to have been in Danger of over-running the whole Borough. Item. Supplient les Co^{es} de la Burgh de Soutwerk que nullez estewes soyent tenuz en le Burgh de Southwerk mes en le Co^e place pur ce ordeine. Le Roy le voet. Rot. Parl. 14. Rich. II. *uz.* 32.

ⁱ Camden's Remains.

^k Fable of the Bees, *f.* 98.

hand, Instances of the most abominable Sorts of Lewdness occur more frequently in History during the Continuance of Stews, than since these Nurseries of Debauchery have been put an end to. To return.

But of all the Countries in *Europe* where Prostitution is encourag'd, by a sort of Prejudice very natural, he can't help upon some Accounts giving the Preference to *Holland*. He is extremely delighted with *the Temple of Venus at Amsterdam, where Women are hired as publickly as Horses at a Livery Stable*¹. And yet *the wary Magistrates, by some wholesome Severities upon those necessary Profligates, and their miserable Keepers, preserve themselves in the good Opinion of the weaker sort of People, who imagine that the Government is always endeavouring, though unable, to suppress what it actually tolerates*^m. There is *Prudence and Oeconomy*ⁿ, *Frugality and Policy to be seen in them*^o. He bestows several Pages in describing them; descends to the *hard Hands and tawdry Dress* of the Damsels who supply them by Night, and can't even omit *the Wheelbarrows they carry Fruit in by Day*^p. Besides it shews Contrivance, that the Musick in those Temples of *Venus* is perform'd by *Organs*^q, not out of *Respect* (he would have you think) *to the Deity that is worshipped in them*^r. What Pity it is so fine a Description, so many handsome Things said of his Countrymen should be thrown away upon them! It seems *the wise Rulers of that well ordered City*^s, from a thorough Sense of the many Inconveniencies these tolerated Temples were attended with, have put an end to them some Time ago, and sent all the Damsels and their Keepers *a packing*^t. And

¹ P. 95.^m P. 98.ⁿ P. 96.^o P. 97.^p P. 96.^q The Reason why he prefers the Use of Organs in *Stews*, and expresses himself in such Language, is easy to be guess'd at.^r P. 97.^s P. 95.^t P. 98.

if the common Accounts are true, his present Holiness is in very much the same Way of Thinking, and is at this Time exerting his Authority in order to suppress them at *Rome*. By this Means the Curiosity of many of our hopeful Youth to examine the Furniture of these Temples has been disappointed, a Curiosity that sends many of them abroad, and fills up the greatest Part of their Conversation after their return. However, our Author will have the Comfort to think, that though these Temples are no more, his Description of them will live, that it *will please Men of any tolerable Taste, and not be easily lost* ^u.

He says, *our Universities in England are much belied if in some Colleges there was not a monthly Allowance* *ad expurgandos renes* ^w. That the Universities are *belied*, has nothing remarkable in it. It is but their common Fate to be so, when they are talked of by such as he is. A better Acquaintance with them would have prevented some other Errors in his Performance.

I am afraid it will be thought giving too much Countenance to so ill contrived a Piece of Calumny, to set about a serious Confutation of it. Perhaps the best Authority it has ever yet had, has been that of a Debauchee at a Tavern, as an Excuse for his own Wickedness. I think it never ventured into Print till now; and *the Fable of the Bees* will add but little to the Credit of it. However, for the Satisfaction of all curious Readers, we do assure them, upon the Credit of those who have examined the Statutes of those Colleges in both Universities, which have at any Time been most suspected for such a Licence, that there is no Expression of this Sort, nor any Thing equivalent to it, nor

^u P. 472.

^w P. 99;

any other that gives the least Countenance to Lewdness, nor does there appear to be the least Foundation to believe there ever was any such. On the other hand, there are in those very Colleges express Statutes that punish Fornication with Expulsion.

Indeed there is a Passage in *Fuller's History*, that by falling into the Hands of some facetious Gentlemen, might possibly be improved into this Piece of Scandal upon the *Universities*. And if this Conjecture won't account for the Rise of it, surely those People, who spread it with so much Industry, will think themselves obliged to produce some better and more certain Authority to vouch for it.

At the Dissolution of religious Houses in *England*, when the Zeal of the People encouraged every little idle Story to reproach them, when subterraneous Passages were discovered leading from Fryeries to Nunneries through Rocks, and under great Rivers; there went another Report yet *more improbable* (says *Fuller* *) *that Abbots made Provision for their Lusts on their Leases, enjoining their Tenants to furnish them, &c.* And, he says, a Reverend Divine (a hot-brained, fanatick Preacher) Mr. *Stephen Marshall* told him, he had seen such a Clause in a Lease of the Abby of *Essex*, where the Lessee was enjoined to provide, *unam claram & lepidam puellam, ad purgandos Renes, Domini Abbatis.* Now if we are to believe Mr. *Stephen Marshall* did not contrive the whole Story, it was probably the Imposition of some Wag upon him to try the Excess of his Credulity, which he afterwards gave out he had seen himself; for that he ever did see such a Lease is highly improbable: And his Friend *Fuller* says at the same Time, he did not believe him. And indeed so remarkable a Lease pre-

* *Fuller's Church History*, p. 317, 318.

served so late as *Stephen Marshall's* Days, the Zeal of the Times against Popery would hardly have left to subsist upon such slender Credit. This too seems still more likely from the Jocoseness of the Stile, for the Sake of which they were content to use so absurd an Expression as *purgandos Renes*.

But allowing, against all Probability, that *Stephen Marshall* did see such a Lease, though we should suppose an ignorant Steward or Lease-drawer to believe *claram & lepidam puellam* to be of Use *ad purgandos Renes*, is it possible to imagine, that the Compilers of College Statutes should step out of the common Road, and talk in the Language of a Profession, on Purpose to shew their Ignorance in it? For a small Share of Knowledge in Anatomy would have told them that the *Kidneys* have no more to do in Venery, than the Guts or the Brains.

There are in each of the Universities a great many hundred Youth in the Health and Vigour of their Age, much the greater Part of them from seventeen to five and twenty; and perhaps there is not in the World any Place where this Vice is less practised. Indeed the Opportunities for it are very rare, and the Punishments very severe. But *the wise Rulers of those well-ordered Bodies* ¹ would not I presume thank the Government, nor the Author, for giving them the Hint, if in the Scarcity of Whores there is thereat present, they should procure a fresh Cargo *from foreign Parts* ² to supply their great Necessities. It would be difficult to persuade them, that these Whores were sent thither to serve the Cause of Chastity, or to prevent any greater Wickedness. For whatever he may have heard of the

Universities, I must tell him, *Ravishing* is by no means a daily Practice among them. To return.

I have all along purposely avoided taking Notice of any other Inconveniencies occasioned by the licensing of publick Stews, than the Tendency of them to increase the Practice of Lewdness in all its Branches. The frequent Quarrels that must unavoidably happen there, the Murders that are often committed, and the many other scandalous Enormities, which always have been and will be the Consequence of this licensed Wick- edness, would of themselves furnish sufficient Matter of Objection against them. But till some more clear- sighted Advocate for them rise up than has hitherto obliged the World with his Discoveries, one who *in the Chain of Causes can see farther*, and *in the Prospect of concatenated Events can enlarge his View* ^a to a greater Distance than the rest of Mankind, we may venture to rest the Merits of the Cause upon this one Point, whether publick *tolerated* Stews tend to promote the Cause of Lewdness or Chastity?

Perhaps it will be needless to shew, how far Adul- tery is prejudicial to Society, since the Author allows it, and makes it the Duty of the Magistrate to prevent it. It will be thought sufficient, if what has been said, proves that an *Allowance* of Fornication naturally pro- motes Adultery. But as there are others who won't think the Design of *the Fable* fully answered, unless it be shewn too, that Adultery is prejudicial; for the Sake of such, I shall just observe, that if the Happiness of a Community consists in the Happiness of the Individuals who compose it (as has been shewn already ^b) it will be sufficient to ask any married Couple, whether a bare

^a P. 89.

^b See p. 19. of *this Enquiry*.

Suspicion of each others Adultery, is not enough to im-bitter their private Lives, to alienate their Affections from one another ; and in short, to render that State that was intended for the Benefit of Mankind and the Support of Society, painful and miserable. I believe very few have so ill a Taste of Happiness, as not to answer in the Affirmative. Nay, the Action itself would have this Effect, though there were an absolute Security of Secrecy. Nature seems to have taken Care, that the mutual Love and Affection between Husband and Wife should be owing to the mutual Assistance and Benefit they bring to each other. Now, whether this Benefit consists in relieving our natural Necessities, or bestowing any actual Pleasure, it naturally creates in us a Love towards the Benefactor. Where both these concur, our Love or natural Gratitude is very strong. But the satisfying these Desires elsewhere, or receiving this Pleasure from another Person, misplaces the Affection that naturally arises from thence, and destroys that Love for the other, without the mutual Returns of which the State itself would be intolerable. Perhaps in common Cases, the receiving Obligations from another, does not very sensibly or suddenly destroy a Sense of Gratitude to a former Benefactor (which yet it may be is doubtful, especially where the Obligations are of the same kind.) But Love admits of no Equality in the Objects of it. It is impossible to love two alike, or either of them with the same Ardor as if you loved only one. This indeed may now and then be mistaken, or Love may be represented by only one Part of it, or by somewhat foreign to it. Love is a mix'd Passion. It is a Composition of Friendship and natural Desire, or what, if the Reader would join no criminal Ideas to it, I should choose to call *Lust*. As the Proportion of the two Ingredients may vary with different Constitutions,

so they may be divided between two Objects, while neither of them is properly loved : As among Men one has more of your Friendship, while the other has the greater Share of your Esteem. But without amusing my self or the Reader with such Speculations, it is most certain, that as this mutual Benefit is the greatest Tie married People have upon each other's Affections, so a Gratification of this Passion with one, will destroy it towards another. And to *guard* and preserve this in its utmost Purity, that strong, and otherwise unaccountable Passion of Jealousy, is implanted in our Nature.

This last Consideration is of itself a sufficient Proof, how certainly such Liberties destroy the conjugal Affection. That some Men, from a peevish Disposition, should vex and give themselves Pain, for Accidents that really do them no Hurt or Damage, and which a wise Man would overlook, is easy to be accounted for. But that so violent a Sense of Wrong should run through the whole Species, that People should put themselves to Torture (and, if we are to judge by some Instances, as exquisite a one as we are capable of enduring) from a mere imaginary Evil, from what does them no real Hurt or Injury ; to suppose this, I say, is to make Nature to have delighted in our Misery, to have wantonly sported in her Works, and to have given us this Passion of Jealousy (unlike all others) not only not for any serviceable Purpose, but to our extreme Pain and Torment. Jealousy seems to be a Suspicion or Fear, that the Person loved does or will bestow a Part of his or her Affection upon another, which you desire to engross wholly to your self. If the Passion itself then be a reasonable one, as certainly all our other Passions are, it is the fear of a *real* Evil, a *real* Loss of Affection towards you, that Jealousy consists in. And this *real* Evil a Commerce with another will always occasion.

But

But the good of the present Age must not be the only Object of our Care. Doubtless it is a Duty every one owes his Country, to convey down the Happiness he himself enjoys, *improved*, if possible, to those that come after him. And therefore, if married People were to indulge each other in a Licence of Adultery, besides the Inconveniencies mentioned already, it would be attended with the most pernicious Effects to their Country. It would introduce an Uncertainty of Offspring. Now if a Man once suspects the Children in his Family not to be his own, if he is uncertain whether Nature has given *him* a *particular* Interest in their Welfare, he can't be very solicitous either about their Education, or a Provision for them afterwards. In a Word, he must needs fail in that Duty which he owes both to them and to his Country, the making them happy *themselves*, and the Instruments of as much Happiness as possible to the *rest* of the World. And if there be any sort of Pleasure in *performing* these Duties to his Children, or in the Consciousness of *having* truly and faithfully perform'd them, it is utterly lost to Men in these Circumstances, and consequently their *present* Happiness is affected by it.

Such a Confusion of Offspring would by Degrees banish Marriage from a Society; and the Commerce between the Sexes would be reduced to a Level with that of Brutes^c; which is what the Author of *the Fable* seems to labour to bring it to^d. It will be difficult to find

^c *Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum*, Hor. Sat. L. 1. 3.

^d P. 153. The Curious, that are skill'd in anatomizing the invisible Part of Mankind, will observe, that the more sublime and exempt this Love is from all Thoughts of Sensuality, the more spurious it is, and the more it degenerates from its H O N E S T Original and primitive Simplicity.—— By flattering our Pride and still encreasing the good Opinion we have of our selves on the one Hand; and inspiring us on the other with a superlative Dread and mortal Aversion against Shame, the artful Moralists have taught us chearfully to encounter our selves, and if not subdue, at least so to conceal

find any other Reason, but the Inconveniencies arising from hence, why Adultery in a *Wife* is more criminal or prejudicial than in a *Husband*.

It might be shewn in every other Instance, that the Conduct of private Men is always prejudicial to Society, in Proportion as it deviates from the Rules of Virtue. And without taking into the Account any particular Blessings from Heaven, as a Reward for Virtue and Goodness ^e (a Notion the Author is pleased to divert himself with ^f) upon the whole, it would appear after a full and impartial Examination, a POLITICAL TRUTH, *that Righteousness exalteth a Nation* ^g; and that what *Tully* so often repeats is certainly true with Regard to a whole Society, *quicquid honestum, idem utile*. All this I say may be done without calling in the *Authority* of Revelation.

But surely it must seem strange to a thinking Man, that in a Country where Christianity is professed, and has as yet the Establishment of its Side, it should be thought unfair or insufficient to appeal to its Authority against an infamous Piece, writ not only in direct Contradiction to the Precepts of it, but on Purpose to overturn the first Rudiments of Virtue and Goodness, to encourage the Magistrate to a Toleration of the most open and bare-faced Wickedness, upon the con-

ceal and disguise our darling Passion *Lust*, that we scarce know it, when we meet with it in our own Breasts; Oh! the mighty Prize we have in view for all our Self-denial! Can any Man be so serious as to abstain from Laughter, when he considers that for so much Deceit and Insincerity practised upon our selves as well as others, we have no other Recompence than the vain Satisfaction of making our Species appear more exalted and remote from that of other Animals, than it really is; and we in our Consciences know it to be?

^e 1 Tim. iv. 8. *Godliness is profitable unto all Things, having Promise of the Life, that now is, and of that which is to come.*

^f P. 250. Let them be banished notwithstanding, says a good Man: When every Strumpet is gone and the Land wholly freed from Lewdness, God Almighty will pour such Blessings upon it as will vastly exceed the Profits that are now got by Harlots.

^g Prov. xiv. 34.

fidet

fidant Affertion that Vice is not only the Fountain of Wealth, but the folid Bafis upon which the very Being of Society fubfifts.

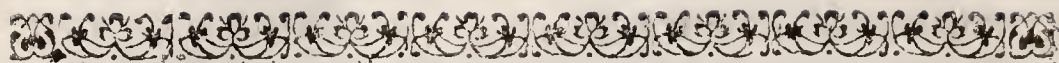
This fcandalous Complaisance, this difingenuous Shame of being thought ever to look into thefe Writings, upon the Knowledge of which, and the Ufe we make of them, our eternal Welfare depends, it is the Bufinefs of fuch Men to promote. And they have fucceeded to that monftrous Degree, that while they, even in their common Converfation, indulge themfelves in the open Ridicule of an eftablifhed Religion, and Compliment all that differ from them with the Names of Fool, Bigot, and Enthufiaft, for happening to believe as they were taught; while they, I fay, are allowed all this without the leaft Imputation of ill Manners; the poor Youth (for thofe that are elder would furely be more cautious) who offers any Thing in Defence of a reviled Saviour, who fhould profefs his Belief of a Refurrection to Happinefs, or mention his fear of Damnation as a Reason againft the Commiffion of the moft fcandalous Enormities, is to be overwhelmed with Noife, Impudence and Numbers; is to pafs for a raw, aukward, difagreeable Fellow, and as one who, till he is better acquainted with the World, is altogether unfit for polite Companies. But if he fhould chance to quote a Text of Scripture in his Behalf, though ever fo beautiful in itfelf, or appofite to his Purpofe, the poor Man is funk paff Recovery. Would not, I fay, an unprejudiced Man wonder, by what Concurrence of ftrange Accidents this Behaviour fhould pafs upon the World, and not be refented by every honeft, good-natured, or well-bred Man? But thefe bafhful Gentry, whofe Weaknefs has contributed more than any Thing to this tyrannical Cuftom, would do well to remember, that as without a competent Share of Spirit and Refolution

rage a Man is every Day in Danger of acting like a Rascal, so the want of them in a Christian is threatned with a most dreadful Sentence^b.

But let Custom and Fashion prevail which Way they will, let the mention of Scripture either in Discourse or Writing be thought ever so ungraceful or improper, it is impossible to talk well and justly upon almost any Point of Morality, without borrowing Assistance from *thence*. It is by means of this, that what are called the Principles of natural Reason, appear *now* so plain and demonstrable: And from hence it is that perhaps the worst System of *Ethicks*, ever writ by a Christian, and conformable to his Belief as such, is a better one than *Tully's Offices*. Where is that Christian Philosopher, who (like this learned and sensible Heathen) would not have been able to confute such a Quibbler as *Carnades*, when he endeavoured to puzzle the Notions of Right and Wrongⁱ? What shall we say then to a Writer who has left this sure Guide to wander amidst a senseless Heap of Irreligion and Paradox?

^b Mark viii. 38. *Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me, and of my Words, in this adulterous and sinful Generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the Glory of his Father with the Holy Angels.* And Luk. ix. 26. and Mat. x. 33.

ⁱ Lactant. L. 5. 16. *Quæ Marcus Tullius non potuerit refellere.*



S E C T. VII.

WHAT remains to be considered is the Essay on Charity Shools.

The first Design of these Schools seems to have been purely religious; the Good of the State being considered only as the natural Consequence of the other. But so reasonable an Institution meeting with very great Encouragement, the Persons who have the Care of them, have found means to add several political Uses to this religious Design. Besides teaching Children to read, and instructing them in the Principles of Religion, in most Places they are cloathed, and in some the Burden of their Maintenance is entirely taken off from their indigent Friends and the Publick. When they have spent Time enough for the little Qualifications of Reading, &c. and by the strictest Care are fixed in the Principles of Virtue and Religion, their future Welfare is as much as possible provided for, by placing them out to such honest Employments as the small Sums given with them will recommend them to. Towards the Expence of their Education and Maintenance, besides the generous Contributions of others, the Promoters of them have begun to erect Manufactures for their Employment at those Hours that can be spared from their other Instruction. In this they have succeeded so well, that in some of these Schools, notwithstanding their want of Years and Strength for any hard Labour, they are enabled to get their whole Livelihood,

lihood. By which means even those who are not bound Apprentices from thence, by being enured to Labour and Industry as well as Honesty, are put into a Way of maintaining themselves in the course of their Lives much better and sooner, than they could have done without this Care in their Education, in the idle and dissolute way of Life they might otherwise take up. So that this charitable Institution is become one of the most useful unexceptionable Projects for the Advancement, not only of Virtue and Religion, but the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdom, that this, or perhaps any better Age has produced.

But as the Advantages of them are extremely obvious, and they have had, as the Author tells us, so much *Labour and Eloquence laid out upon them, not by young Persons or poor Scholars of little Credit, but the most learned of our Prelates, and who* (he very well adds) *at the same Time have been the most eminent for Orthodoxy*^k; all the Defence of them I shall attempt to make, is to consider what has been urged in this *Essay* against them.

As it contains above fourscore Pages, and is pompously brought into the World by an Author, who, if you will take his own Word for it, had with his former Performances had the Honour to *divert Persons of unquestionable good Sense*^l, (People of Quality as likely as any) we may reasonably think it contains the utmost Efforts of their Enemies, all that their Politicks, Religion, and Love for their Country can suggest in Opposition to them.

When this *Essay* is stripped of its Decorations, and reduced to a plain way of Reasoning, it will be found to contain very little more than this one Objection,

^k P. 323^l P. 467.

‘ That the Managers of Charity-Schools place out the
 ‘ Children to profitable Employments, when they
 ‘ ought to be employed in Husbandry, or in other mean
 ‘ and laborious Work. For *all Trades and Handicrafts*
 ‘ *are overstocked*^m, and every where in the Country the
 ‘ *Farmer wants Hands*ⁿ.

If in answer to this he should be told, that the more Money private Men get honestly, the more beneficial they are to the Publick; as great a Politician as he is, it would puzzle him to support his Objection. *I dare affirm*, says Sir William Petty^o, *that if all the Husbandmen of England, who now earn but 8 d. a Day, or thereabouts, could become Tradesmen and earn 16 d. that then it would be the Interest of England to throw up their Husbandry, and buy their Corn, &c. of their Neighbours, as they do in some other Countries.* But allowing for the present that Sir William Petty is mistaken in this (though what he says is demonstrably true) allowing that eight Pence got in Husbandry is more advantageous to the Nation, than sixteen Pence got in Trade, how does this affect Charity Schools? The Children put out from Charity Schools in the Country are put to Country Business; the Children in *London* are bound out to those *Sorts* of Business, which, if they followed any at all, it is probable they would follow otherwise. Does he think that the Trustees of the Schools send for Children from Country Parishes to have the Credit of binding them to profitable Trades in *London*? They don’t take Children from Husbandry to Trades, but from Idleness to Business. Their only View is to employ them in some useful Labour; many of whom it is feared would not apply to Business of themselves, and

^m P. 344.

^o His Pol. Arithmetick, p. 193.

ⁿ P. 345.

others, by the indigent Circumstances of their Friends, are in no Capacity for doing so ; while those who have the good Fortune to get over these Difficulties, could not find Employment so early as by the Help of these Charities they are enabled to do. What then is all this Clamour against the mowing to ? Why, the Children are brought up to the Practice of Virtue and Religion, which, to one who places the publick Happiness of a Society in the Vice and Wickedness of the Individuals, is indeed Objection enough ; for where there are *no Thieves, nor Housebreakers, Smiths will want Employments* ^P. But to go on with the Objection.

Does the Author really think the Managers of Charity Schools can turn the Scale of Employments from Husbandry to Trades, or from Trades to Husbandry, just as they please ? This is complimenting them with a Power which the whole Legislature can't pretend to, unless they can change the Profit got by the Labour in one and the other. Trades and Employments will take their natural Course where Profit directs them. Men won't take to one sort of Work, or place out their Children to it, when they can get more by another ; unless their particular Dispositions or Opportunities (which it is not in the Power of the Legislature to influence) direct them to a worse Employment rather than a better.

But allowing they had this Power, instead of making his Complaint (of this disproportionate want of Hands) an Objection against Charity Schools, he ought to have urged it as a Proof of the Usefulness of the Institution of them. For as it has been shewn already, that the Children bound out by

^P P. 82. I shall be asked] what Benefit the Publick receives from Thieves and Housebreakers.—If all People were strictly honest, &c. half the Smiths in the Nation would want Employment.

this Charity in *London*, would not take to Country Business otherwise (except a few of the more courageous of them perhaps to the Highway) all he can prove from it is, that the Managers don't make all the Advantage of this Power which they might do. The Objection then should be stated thus. ' The Managers of Charity Schools (such is the Excellency of the Institution) have it in their Power to do eminent Service to their Country, by turning the Balance of Trades and Employments to that side where Hands are most wanted. But this Opportunity is neglected by the Managers, who suffer Trades and Employments to go on as they would otherwise.' Let him make more of it if he can. The Truth is, the Trustees act for the Children, as their Parents would or ought to act for them, by putting them to such Employments as they can best get a Maintenance by; and he that most consults the Interest of a Child in his Education, consults the Interest of the Publick the most.

When all Trades complain, says he, and perhaps justly, that they are overstocked, you manifestly injure that Trade, to which you add one Member more than would flow from the Nature of Society^a. The View he must suppose the Managers have, is the Good of the Children; that without Regard to the Publick, they put them to the most profitable Trades they can. Now to any other than such a Politician as this, it would have been a Demonstration, that whatever Trades are most profitable are *not* overstocked; it is when they cease to be profitable, and then only, that they are overstocked. And as soon as any Trades appear to be overstocked by being found to be not so profitable, the Managers from the same Principle of Regard to the Children (or what he

would choose to call a *petty Reverence for 'the Poor'*^r will certainly look out for Trades *more* profitable, and consequently *not* overstocked. It is thus the *Proportion as to Numbers in every Trade finds itself*^r, and this Proportion is necessarily consulted by all Persons, and in the very same Act in which they consult the Interest of the Children put to those Trades.

The Foundation he goes upon to prove this Conduct in the Managers to be prejudicial to the State, is, that *Abundance of hard and dirty Labour is to be done, and course Living to be complied with* : Where, says he, *shall we find a better Nursery for these Necessities than the Children of the Poor*^r ? And if such People there must be (speaking of the Poor that fare hard) as no great Nation can be happy without vast Numbers of them, would not a wise Legislature cultivate the Breed of them with all imaginable Care, and provide against their Scarcity, as he^u would prevent the Scarcity of Provision itself ? No Man would be poor and fatigue himself for a Livelihood, if he could help it^w. The Inference is, that the Legislature must take care they should be poor, and so lay them under a Necessity of fatiguing themselves ; or, to use his own Expression, *The Legislature must provide against a Scarcity of Poverty, as they would prevent Poverty it self*. Why, what Harm will the Scarcity of Poverty do a Nation ? It will make them *poor* by making Provisions scarce : and consequently a *Plenty* of Poverty may, for ought we know, make a Nation rich. Nay, the Author will prove it to you by a distinct Argument, as big with Demonstration as the last. *For though the short-sighted Vulgar in the Chain of Causes seldom can see further than one Link ; yet those who can enlarge their*

^r P. 357.^r P. 342.^r P. 357.^u I suppose he is an Erratum of the Press for they.^w P. 327.

View, and will give themselves the Leisure of gazing on the Prospect of concatenated Events, may see Good spring up and pullulate from Evil, as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs ^x. In the same manner *Riches* may pullulate from *Poverty*, *Plenty* from *Luxury*, and *Chastity* be the natural Effect of *tolerated Stews*.

What a rare Emissary this would make for an overgrown Statesman, who had spent his Life in fattening himself with the Spoils of the Nation? When he had by pinching and plundering heaped up an immense Treasure, he would tell us, it ought to fill every good Member of the Society with Joy to behold (not the uncommon Profuseness of his Son^y, for that is but a trifling Consideration, but) what a noble Foundation he has laid for the future Wealth and Grandeur of his Country, by sufficiently providing against a Scarcity of Poverty among his fellow Subjects! And indeed it is plain from the Title of his Book, he set out with a Resolution to write a Panegyrick upon Men of Quality, and to prove that even their private Life has a Tendency to the publick Good.

That the Author is not injured in this Representation of his Politicks, will appear from two or three other Passages, which at the same Time will give the Reader a better Insight into the rest of his State Opinions. *In a free Nation, where Slaves are not allowed of* (he seems to think it wrong that they are not allowed of) *the surest Wealth consists in a Multitude of laborious Poor*. And again, *To make the Society happy, and People easy under the meanest Circumstances, it is requisite that great Numbers of them should be poor* ^z; and he has wondered formerly, how an Englishman, that pretended to have the Honour and Glory as well as the Welfare of his Country

at Heart, could take delight in the Evening to hear an idle Tenant that owed him above a Year's Rent ridicule the French for wearing wooden Shoes, when in the Morning he had had the Mortification of hearing the great King William, that ambitious Monarch (who is this abusive Writer talking of?)—openly own to the World, and with Grief and Anger in his Looks, to complain of the exorbitant Power of France^b? So that because his ambitious Majesty (if it be safe to transcribe from him) was graciously pleased in a Morning with Anger in his Looks to complain of the exorbitant Power of a Prince that he had a personal Aversion to, no true *Englishman* ought to bear with the Insolence of his sawcy Tenant at Night, for shewing his Archness upon wooden Shoes. At this Distance of Time we are told the Revolution itself was brought about to rescue us from wooden Shoes, and such other Effects of arbitrary Power, which now (it seems) it is a Crime, for all but Gentlefolks to ridicule. But why is he so offended at the Landlord, who we are told felt a sensible Mortification only at hearing King William, with Grief and Anger in his Looks, complain of the exorbitant Power of France; why I say does he blame him for not checking the Insolence of his Tenant, whose way of thinking rather fell in with the King's Measures? For in common Sense, one would think that a general Aversion to wooden Shoes should make People pay Taxes the more chearfully to keep wooden Shoes out of England, which no doubt the same People were told his Majesty of France intended to make a Present of to this as well as some other neighbouring Nations^c. No, says the Author,

^b P. 364.

^c In his Receipt to make Courage, p. 232. Shew them that their Altars, their Possessions, Wives, Children, and every thing that is near and dear to them, is concern'd in the present Quarrel, or at least may be influenced by it hereafter.

it was the Landlord's Duty, if he had *the Glory as well as the Welfare of his Country at Heart* °, to reconcile his Tenants to *wooden Shoes*, and other Instances of *coarse Living*; that they might save up the Remainder, and gladly offer it as an humble Tribute of their Duty, at the Feet of his *ambitious Majesty*. For when a People wear *wooden Shoes*, or no Shoes under *one Prince*, or when their Liberties are precarious, no doubt they will contribute their Labour and Taxes chearfully, and fight most manfully to prevent a change of Government.

I have said that the Author seems to lament the want of *Slaves*. Those who examine into the real Opinions of the Party, will soon be convinced they have not Aversion to Slavery they would be thought to have. I don't mean that they have any Inclination to be Slaves themselves; and how much forever Virtue such a Principle *in itself* may suppose, it is not my design to rob them of it. But I think it is pretty plain they all want to be Tyrants in their Turn; that they would be content even with some share of Oppression from their Superiors, provided there is room for them to exercise the same Tyranny over those whose Circumstances have placed them in a Station below them. And indeed where there is a Slavery in any one Part, it is next to impossible but there should be a Gradation of Slavery through the whole. Where the Commonalty are Slaves to the Gentry, the Gentry will be held in a proportionate Subordination to the Nobility or the Prince. The true Reason why some Gentlemen prefer a Republick to any other Form of Government, is only the greater Chance each Man has to share in the *supreme Power* himself, while the Multitude would enjoy no more

Liberty than before. *Their* Condition would be just the same, excepting that the Number of these supreme Tyrants would be increased over them. So that the common Outcries of the Party for Liberty, which are design'd to catch the Ears of the People, and give good natured Men an Opinion of their Virtue and Moderation, don't proceed a Jot from their Love to Mankind, or a generous Inclination to see a People happy, but from those very Principles they pretend to condemn. Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*, a noted Republican, has writ a Treatise to shew the great Usefulness of *Slaves*^d, and to recommend the Consideration of this Point to the *Scotch* Parliament, who we are told had made some Advances towards it^e. And indeed, considering the Temper of that People, their Neighbours will think themselves happy if they never introduce Slavery into any other Country but their own.

But to come nearer to the Point we set out with: This very Writer, this Author of *the Fable of the Bees*

^d I have not room to give a particular Account of this Gentleman's Scheme: But it seems to be truly worthy of him and his Party. In the most essential things he would have the poor People to be free. Would the Reader guess what this Republican means by the most essential Things? Why, he says, excepting that they should possess nothing and might be sold, they might still remain free, and live very comfortably. And what is it to be sold? A Trifle he says, nothing but an Alienation of their Service without their Consent. What he says in the Words just before to reconcile the People to his Slavery looks more like the Insult of a haughty Tyrant to add to the Cruelty of his Power, than the serious Proposal of a Member of Parliament. Any Man, says he, should be punished who gives them the opprobrious Name of SLAVE.

^e By an Act of Parliament in the Year 1579, any Subject of sufficient Estate is allowed to take the Child of any Beggar, and educate him for his Service; which Child is obliged to serve such a Master for a certain Term of Years; and that Term of Years extended by another Act made in the Year 1597 for Life. So that here is a great Advance towards my Proposition; but either from some Mistake (*says the honest Republican*) about Christian or Civil Liberty, they did not proceed to consider the Necessity of continuing that Service in the Children of such Servants, and giving their Masters a Power of alienating that Service to whom they should think fit. *Fletcher.*

has, in another ingenious Tract of his, writ a long Panegyrick upon the Conduct of *Lewis XIV.* particularly for his good Policy in extirpating the Protestants out of *France*, and from the Instance of that Kingdom, which he tells you *was in its most flourishing Condition, when the Country People were always poor*^f; lays it down as a Piece of excellent Politicks, that, *where the Poor set a small Value upon themselves, and esteem the better sort far above their own Rank, it will follow they will work much cheaper, and be content to live much meaner than where they are so haughty*^g: To which Condition consequently a good Patriot ought to endeavour to bring his Country. You see his Opinion of the Usefulness of Poverty and Slavery, is not any thing he has fallen into by chance, but appears wherever he has an Opportunity to shew it. But to return to his Objection.

Since then *Abundance of hard and dirty Labour is to be done, and coarse Living is to be complied with*; and since we can no where find a better Nursery for these *Necessities than the Children of the Poor, none certainly being nearer to it, or fitter for it*^h; (that is, none being nearer to *coarse Living*, or nearer to Poverty, than the *Poor*; this I say being so) he is afraid Charity Schools will destroy these *Nurseries* of the Poor. For as the Children are placed out to better Employments than they ought to be, in a few Years there will be want of People *to do hard and dirty Labour*; there will be a want (suppose) of the Black-Guard, Scavengers, and Night-workers. But certainly there can be no want of these till there is a want of Poverty; for there always will be found Numbers enough that will submit to the meanest Offices of Life, rather than submit to the want

^f *The Virgin unmask'd*, p. 154.

^h *Fable of the Bees* p. 357.

^g *Ibid.* p. 152.

of Bread ^b. Therefore before this can be made an Objection against Charity Schools, it must be supposed that Charity Schools will entirely destroy the *Nurseries* of the Poor, and make all People rich. So that all this is ultimately an Objection against Wealth, for till there is a general Wealth (at soonest) there can be no such general Grievance, which makes it still plainer, that the Author's Politicks were fairly represented before ⁱ.

But to silence this Objection effectually, I shall endeavour to shew, first, that what he grounds it upon is not true in fact; nor indeed, without supposing the greatest Absurdity, is it possible it should be true. And 2^{dly}, allowing it to be true in never so great a Degree, it could not produce the Effect he is afraid of.

As to the first, it has been shewn already, that the Managers of Charity Schools don't take Children from the Country, that would otherwise be employed in Husbandry, and place them out to Trades in *London*: And that they don't choose such profitable Trades to place the Children to in *London*, is plain from hence. He won't deny, that the Promoters of Charity Schools in general, act upon a Presumption that they are *useful*, and consequently it is natural to imagine they would extend the Use of them as far as possible. Now as it is apparently true, that the better Trades these Children are put to, the more Money is required with them, so the placing them to such creditable Callings would confine the Benefit of this Charity to a very small Num-

^b P. 327. *The Author will confirm this himself. For the absolute Necessity all stand in for Victuals and Drink; and in cold Climates for Cloaths and Lodging, makes them submit to any thing that can be bore with. He carries the Matter yet farther. The greatest Hardships are look'd upon as solid Pleasures when they keep a Man from starving.*

ⁱ See likewise p. 327, where he says, if no Body did want no Body would work.

ber, and so destroy the very Design the Promoters of it must be supposed to act upon. He allows himself elsewhere (for Contradiction is extremely familiar to him) that *the Governors of Charity Schools don't deliberate so much what Trade is the best, but what Tradesmen they can get that will take the Boys with such a Sum^k*. It seems *Frugality* is what they chiefly aim at: And a little Enquiry will confirm it to him, that the Sums given in placing out the Children is never such as would recommend them to any profitable Trade; however, the Hopes of their Sobriety, Honesty and Industry may now and then supply the want of a larger Sum. In short, he will find that the meanest Trades among us expect as much with a Child of the same Age, as is generally given with a Charity Boy. For as to the most sordid nauseous Offices of Life (let them be called Trades if he pleases) they are such as very few can live by alone. He won't find many that are bound to the Trade of Shoe-cleaning, and scarce any that serve an Apprenticeship to the Mystery of Night-working. Besides, that there can never be a want of Hands in those Employments where there is so little Skill or Money required to set up with. The Refuse of other Trades, such as are defective either in their Capacity or Fortune for better Business, will always, it is feared, furnish a larger Supply for such Offices than the Necessities of Mankind will ever require. *England* must indeed be the happiest *Spot upon Earth*¹ before there can be a want of them. Nay, even allowing, 2^{dly}, That this Charity was ever so lavishly disposed of, that all the Children were placed out to the most creditable Callings, that this Conduct of the Managers (or rather that some Miracle from Heaven) should at once destroy the Nur-

series of the Poor, and create a general Plenty throughout the Land, it could never occasion a Scarcity of Hands for the meanest Employments in Life.

If Poverty implies a want of Necessaries for Sustenance, it is indeed somewhat positive and absolute. But this sort of Poverty our Laws have strictly provided against, and it is what the Objection supposes an entire Absence of. When we talk of the *poor* People of *England*, we mean the People that live by doing *hard and dirty Labour*; and in this Sense of the Word, *Poverty* is somewhat as much relative or comparative as *Wealth* is: And if so, tho' never so great an Addition were made to the Property of the People in general, yet as there would still be different Degrees of *Wealth*; so in Comparison to those of better Fortune, some would still be counted poor, or less rich; and all such would continue to do the same Offices poor People do now. *No*, says the Author, *if no Body did want, no Body would work*^m. If he means, if no Body did want *Bread*, no Body would work, it is false in fact. Every Day's Experience shews, that some People will labour as hard to improve their Income, or heap up *Wealth*, as others to earn their daily *Bread*, and will condescend to any Employments for this Purpose. Mens *Wants* are their Desires. Till Bounds are set to *these*, *those* are not satisfied. This always has been, and always will be the Temper of Mankind.

The only Effect then this greater Plenty would have, is, that People would be better paid for performing those mean Offices than they are now, which does not affect the Welfare of the Publick one Way or other. When there is a Scarcity of Men in one Employment more than others, such Work will grow dear. But

this can never reach to any great Excess, because such Dearness will encourage others to take up the same Employment. By which Means the Price of the Labour will soon lessen again. This will be the Case constantly and in all Places from the natural Course of Things, let the Scarcity of such Labour arise from Plenty or any other Cause. And in this View again it appears, that *the Proportion as to Numbers in every Trade finds itself* ⁿ.

Suppose for Instance there was a Scarcity of Chimney-Sweepers; the Price of their Work must immediately rise, and the Business itself would in some Proportion become creditable as it grew profitable. For where there is no Dishonesty in a Profession (and too often where there is) Reputation and Respect will follow Profit at no great Distance. Others would soon take up the same Employment, till Numbers sunk the Value of it to the old Standard.

To apply the same way of Reasoning to the other Part of the Objection. As *the Proportion of Numbers in different Trades finds itself*, so will the Proportion of Numbers between Handicrafts and Husbandry. That is, where there is a Scarcity of Hands in one, and the Labour by that Means grows dear, it will be an Encouragement to the others, who find themselves crowded, to leave this and take to that; at least it will be a Reason for Parents and other Trustees for Children to bind them at first where there is this Scarcity, and so by consulting the Interest of those under their Care, they must contribute to the supplying the Defect of Numbers complained of in the others. The Scarcity in one is a kind of natural Drain for the Superfluities of the rest; or they are like a Pair of Scales, that gently move

up and down, and are never far from an exact Balance. So little is it in the Power of the Legislature themselves, much less the Managers of Charity Schools, to turn this Balance as they please.

This is not only true from the Reason of the Case, but confirmed likewise by Experience. A little Enquiry would convince the Reader, with how little Truth the Author affirmed, that *all Trades and Handicrafts are overstocked*^o, and *every where in the Country the Farmer wants Hands*^p. Perhaps there is not one Handicraft in *London*, of those especially that minister to Luxury, but where the Master complains of a Scarcity of Hands. I shall trouble the Reader but with one Instance. Let it be in that Trade that the Author particularly refers to himself. Such, he says, is *the unreasonable Vein of petty Reverence for the Poor that runs through this Nation*, that *Journeymen Taylors go to Law with their Masters, and are obstinate in a wrong Cause, yet they must be pitied*^q. Whether the Journeymen were in the wrong or no, is not very material: But one may give a shrewd guess it is more than he knows; unless from the same Vein of Liberty that runs through his whole Treatise, he concludes them to be in the wrong, because they are *Servants*, and were contending with their *Masters*. The Masters themselves however were not so sure of the Journeymens being in the wrong as to venture their Cause in *Westminster-Hall*; But thought the safest Way of proving them so, was to call for an Act of Power, and so put an end to the Dispute. This it seems they had Interest enough to procure. An Act pass'd that reduced the Journeymens Wages, and fix'd it at one Price, let the different Skill and Abilities of the Workmen be what they would: And in order to have it punc-

^o P. 344.

^p P. 345.

^q P. 357.

ually obeyed, the Masters were laid under Penalties if they ever gave more. The Consequence of this is, that at present perhaps there is not one Master Taylor within the Bills of Mortality, who does not every Day run the risque of the Penalty (or some Way or other evade it) by giving more Wages than he ever did before the passing the Act^r. Does this happen because Handicrafts are overstocked? And is it not by Mistake that he says in the next Words, that *murmuring Weavers must be relieved, and have fifty silly Things done to humour them*?

Nor is it true that the Farmer wants Hands so much more than the Tradesman. Let him go into any Country Parish, and ask if the Farmers are willing to take a healthy Boy at nine or ten Years old for the sake of his Service the next fourteen Years? If he finds they refuse this without the Advance of some Money to them besides; if they consider the taking even *such* Parish Children as a Burthen, then I presume it is a Proof that there is not this disproportionate Scarcity of Hands. I don't mean that Hands are not *at all* wanted in Husbandry. Perhaps they are wanted here as much as in Trades; and the Reason of this Scarcity in both shall be taken Notice of by and by. But it is hoped it appears by this Time that it is not owing to *Charity Schools*.

What the Author of the *Essay* has hitherto insisted upon is, that Charity Schools destroy the *Nurseries for the Necessities of Life*, or the Nurseries of the Poor (which it has been proved it is impossible should happen, till all People become rich, if it happens at all) and destroying these *Nurseries* of Poor, he thinks, must make the Nation poor, by making Provisions scarce. But I

* Excepting only for that short Space of Time, in which, from an imaginary Plenty of Money, the Value of Labour as well as of every Thing else was over-rated,

would not be understood from hence that he has asserted this throughout the whole Essay. For this would be but *one* Absurdity; and though a pretty great one, would shew however some Consistency in Blunder. But he has a peculiar Art to be very inconsistent, to shift Sides in his Objections, to assert direct Contraries, and still be as wrong as ever. He has found out that the Governors of Charity Schools, though they intend to make all the Children rich by putting them to profitable Callings, yet they labour under that strange Fatality, that almost all the Masters they put them to, take the Money and then leave the Prentices in the Lurch; *by which it seems as if we intended nothing more than to have a perpetual Nursery for Charity Schools*^f. ‘Charity Schools are very mischievous, because they disappoint the Care of the Legislature, whose Wisdom is seen in cultivating the Breed of Poor, and providing against the Scarcity of them; without a Plenty of which Provisions would grow scarce’^g. For Charity Schools deprive us of the Nursery for the Necessities of Life^h; that is, the Children of the Poor. Again 2^{dly}, Charity Schools are very mischievous, because they create *a perpetual Nursery for Charity Schools*^w; that is, they create a perpetual Nursery of Poor.

One Word more before we leave this Objection; it is to give an Instance of the Author’s Candor in his Account of these Charities. His Turn here is to shew, that Charity Schools create *Poverty*. It is no wonder that the Masters leave their Prentices in the Lurch, for

^f P. 343, and 344.

^g P. 327. If such People there must be, as no great Nation can be happy without vast Numbers of them, would not a wise Legislature cultivate the Breed of them with all imaginable Care, and provide against their Scarcity as he would prevent the Scarcity of Provision itself? No! Man would be poor and fatigue himself for a Livelihood if he could help it,—if no Body did want no Body would work.

^h P. 357.

^w P. 344.

few Men of Substance and Experience will have any thing to do with these Children *. An Insinuation so severe and ill-natured sure must have been grounded upon long Experience and Observation. He must be positive that Tradesmen generally insist upon more Money with a Charity Child, than they would be content to receive with another. And such Conviction no doubt he has met with, which made him complain just before, that truly now a-days, *when a Boy or a Girl are wanted for any small Service* (and in such only we may well think it is that they are employed) *we reckon it our Duty to employ Charity Children before any other.*

Since then a general Plenty, be it ever so great, could not occasion a Scarcity of Hands for the most dirty and laborious Work, it is less to be imagined, that any Pretence to a Superiority of Understanding from the little low Accomplishments of Reading and Writing can be attended with such a formidable Effect. If an *actual* Improvement of every Man's Fortune could not make them despise such Labour, Qualifications that only put them into a *Capacity*, that only give them a *Chance* for this Improvement of their Fortune, could never occasion so extraordinary a Pride. If Charity Children can find Employment more beneficial to themselves by the Help of such Education, than they could otherwise, the Publick likewise receive a Benefit by their Education. If there is no room for this, and better Employments are full, Necessity would soon reconcile them to the hardest Labour. Besides it should be remembred, that that sort of Pride which shews itself in scorning the low Employments of Life, arises only from the Experience of a better Way of Living, which can't be the Case here. All that are placed out from these

Schools, or otherwise dispose of themselves from thence, afford Notice enough to them that stay behind, of what kind of Labour they are to expect: So that a thorough Conviction, that these Children are intended for the lower Stations of Life, grows up with their earliest Education. That fond Opinion that People entertain of their Fitness for better Employments than they can get into, is the mere Effect of mistaken Prudence; the Experience of which, or a continued Failure of Success, must put them upon other Measures.

In short, Reading and Writing are useful Qualifications, or they are not. If they are, those who possess them, may as reasonably set a greater Price upon their Time and Labour on Account of that greater Usefulness, as others who are possessed of better Skill, or better Strength, or any Quality which they hold in a greater Degree than others. If Reading and Writing are found to be quite *useless*, or but very little useful; if I say they find the World entertains this low Opinion of their Value, why should we think that their own Sense of these Qualifications should not be influenced by the Opinion the rest of the World has of them? Why must we be so perverse in the Case of Charity Children, as to think that *their* Opinion of themselves (above all others) must run counter to Truth, Reason, and the common Sentiments of Mankind? But Reading and Writing are certainly of use in every Station of Life, and as the Learning of them does not prevent the Attainment of other more useful Qualities, what Reason can be urged against it, that won't prove as strongly against the Acquisition of any other Sort or Degree of Knowledge or Skill? Nay, that won't prove as much against the Benefit of our natural Endowments, or the Use of two Eyes, or two Hands. But it is vain to think of pushing such a Writer as he is, to
any

any Absurdity that he won't avow. Two Eyes and two Hands *are* prejudicial; and so are all the *Gifts and Munificence of Heaven, and all the Bounties and Benefits of Nature*. They are *the Necessities, the Vices, the IMPERFECTIONS of Man*, that are the great Springs of publick Happiness, and *contain in them the Seeds of all Arts, Industry and Labour*^y. But it is the Nature of *Blessings* to be always *prejudicial*^z.

But supposing what has hitherto been said upon this Head, to be inconclusive; supposing that to be able to read and write should occasion so extraordinary a Pride, as to make People choose to continue idle and run a Hazard of starving, rather than work and eat; yet as this can only arise from a Comparison of themselves with others who want those Accomplishments, it can last no longer than there is room for that Comparison. But it is notorious even at present, that Reading and Writing are grown too common to leave much room for any such ridiculous Pride. What then will be the Case in another Age, if Charity Schools should make a proportionable Progress? Therefore if we should allow ever so much Weight in this Objection, and Charity Schools from other Considerations can be shewn to be useful, it can't be a Reason for the *abolishing* of them, but rather for the making them *universal*. For when *all*, or the *Generality* of the People are possessed of these Qualifications, it will be much the same thing in the present Case, as if *none* at all had them. Now as it is presumed the Author of the *Essay*, and his Friends, have no great Hopes ever to see them utterly *abolished*, the next prudent thing they can do, if they would act consistently, is to promote them, and make them as

^y P. 424.

^z Blessings prejudicial. See the *Index* under the Word Blessings.

extensive as possible. The Labours of this Writer may have gone a great Way towards putting an end to them, but yet if he should be able *utterly* to *extirpate* them, how does he know but Charity Children may always *continue* by such another Trick as the *Hugonets* do in in *France*^a?

But besides that Vanity and Pride are the natural Effects of Knowledge (which surely are often owing to another Cause^b) he has other Reasons against it. I don't mean the *knowing* only how to read and write, but *Knowledge* in general. Charity Schools are very mischievous, by making the People more wise and knowing, than is consistent either with the Good of the State or Religion. He had before made *Ignorance, Folly, and Credulity, necessary Ingredients in the Mixture of Society*^c. And in the *Essay* against Charity Schools, he says, *To make the Society happy, and People easy under the meanest Circumstances* (surely he means under *Slavery*) *it is necessary that great Numbers should be ignorant as well as poor*^d. And *Great Britain* at this Time wants *Ignorance to be happy*^e. And *should a Horse know as much as a Man, he should not desire to be his Rider*^f. Insinuations of too dangerous a Nature to bear being examined! As to Religion, he says, *the most knowing and polite Part of a Nation have every where the least Share of it, and Ignorance is, to a Proverb, counted to be the Mother of Devotion*^g. It is not to be expected

^a It is very much owing to the great Number of *Hugonots* that have always been in *France*, since the late utter Extirpation of them, that that Kingdom, &c. p. 64. 1st. Edit. p. 93. 2^d and 3^d Edit.

^b My Vanity I could never conquer, so well as I could wish; and I am too proud to commit Crimes, *Fab. of the Bees*, p. 472. And again, we are told, that the Spaniards, from a knowing, acute and rich Nation, are now become a senseless, slow, proud and beggarly People, p. 214. and 215.

^c See the Index under the Word *Ignorance*, and p. 106.

^d P. 328.

^e See the Index under the Word *Ignorance*, and p. 379.

^f P. 331.

^g P. 304.

that Religion should receive better Usage at his Hands, when the civil Government itself cannot scape his Abuse.

But instead of entring into a particular Examination of the Importance of what he has offered in favour of Ignorance, it will be sufficient to offer some Reasons for the Usefulness of Knowledge, which will serve for a Balance on the other Side.

In the first Place it made the most considerable Argument against the *Schism* Bill; that sort of Knowledge particularly that is taught in Charity Schools ^h.

But as appealing to the Authority of eminent Men to prove the Usefulness of *Knowledge* would look as much like a Ridicule upon them, as to quote their Opinion to prove the Usefulness of *Wealth* (which the Author here puts upon the same Foot ⁱ) and as it is feared he is not easy to be convinced that his Opinions are wrong, from being shewn that they have a wicked Tendency (these things I say considered) I shall have Recourse to other Arguments to prove the Usefulness of Knowledge, the Force of which one may venture to say it won't be easy to withstand. As first, ' The
' more our Knowledge is enlarged, the more will our
' Wants be multiplied, and the more our Wants and
' Necessities are multiplied, the greater Variety of
' Trades and Employments are required to supply them ^k;

^h That the Bill tended to introduce *Ignorance*, and its inseparable Attendants, *Superstition* and *Irreligion*; that in many Country Towns, Reading and Writing were chiefly supported by Dissenters, not only for the Benefit and Instruction of their own Children, but likewise of those of the poor Churchmen: So that the suppressing these Schools would in some Places suppress the reading of the Holy Scriptures. Lord *Hallifax's* Speech.

ⁱ P. 328. It is requisite that great Numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor.

^k P. 424, 425. Whilst we are employed in supplying the infinite Variety of our Wants, which will ever be multiplied as our Knowledge is enlarged, and our Desires encrease. And p. 328. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our Desires. And p. 467. From those very Necessities and nothing else, arise all Trades and Employments.

‘ and the greater Variety of Trade and Manufactures, the more easily a Society may be rendered a rich, potent, and flourishing People ¹.’ For the Proof of the several Parts of this Argument I would recommend the Reader to the Pages referred to underneath, and be excused the Trouble of proving them my self.

Another Argument may be drawn from the Authority of a Book, that won’t suffer by a Quotation of it, for this or any other Purpose. What I mean is, *Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and national Happiness*, by B.M. a Piece referred to once or twice before. I am very little concerned what Opinion the Reader is pleased to entertain of these *Free Thoughts*, since in the present Question it must be allowed to be more than equal to all other Authorities put together.

To shew the temporal Conveniencies of *Knowledge*, the Author says, *that Priest-craft, that Source of all human Misery, is the Offspring of Ignorance*. In how many well chosen Instances does he make appear what he promised in the Preface, *Their (the Clergy’s) Zeal and Inveteracy against human Learning, in order to breed Ignorance and Superstition ^m, particularly their destroying of Pictures and mutilating of Statues ⁿ*. And again; *It is the common Opinion, that the Wars and Devastations, occasioned by the frequent Irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, introduced Barbarism into Italy, and were the only Cause of that profound Ignorance that so universally overspread the Empire for several Ages: But this is wronging the Clergy, who thoroughly understanding their Interest assisted the Growth of it with so much Applica-*

¹ P. 425. The greater the Variety of Trade and Manufactures, the greater Number may be contained in a Society, &c. and the more they may be rendered a rich, potent and flourishing People.

^m Preface to the *Free Thoughts*, p. 7.

ⁿ P. *Ibid.* p. 151.

tion. For *Knowledge is the Bane of Priest-craft* °. To shew the spiritual Mischiefs of Ignorance, how plainly has the same Author proved, that the Vulgar's *Incapacity hinders them from being affected with true Holiness and Spirituality* ^p? How handsomely does he lament, that *few have Leisure and Ability both to read and examine the Scriptures, as they ought, for the thorough understanding of them*? Indeed the next Words, for want of proper Caution, have carried the Complaint somewhat too far. It looks more like an Opinion of the Conclave at Rome, or a Resolution of the Council of Trent, than like the Sentiments of a *Free-Thinker on Religion* ^q; that *all have not Knowledge sufficient to work out their own Salvation* ^r. Now if the want of this Knowledge in the Vulgar be of such *damnable* Consequence, the supplying them with it must in Proportion be a Benefit; and therefore this Writer sure must be a Friend to Charity Schools. He won't pretend to say this want of Knowledge the Vulgar labour under, this want of *Ability to read and understand the Scriptures*, is a Reason why the Clergy should take the Scriptures and other Books out of their Hands, as being dangerous for the Vulgar to meddle with. It can't be in this Sense that he intended what was quoted from him just now; nor can he hint at such a Thing in the Words that follow, *No Set of Men are more absolutely necessary than spiritual Guides, to lead us in the difficult Path of Virtue, and shew us the Way to eternal Happiness* ^s: Because this, I am afraid, would be to countenance Priest-craft in a very great Degree; a Charge of all others he pretends to deserve the least. But strange things of this

° P. 150, and 151.

^p Pref. p. 6.

^q Free Thoughts on Religion, &c.

^r P. 259.

^s Ibid.

kind have happened. *The infamous and execrable Vanini*^t, who we are told, *died a Martyr for Atheism*^u, writ a Defence of the Council of *Trent*; and if you will take his own Word for it, had some Thoughts of dying a Martyr for *Church Authority* here in *London*^w, though he certainly dreamt the whole Transaction, then waked in a Fright, and gave the World an Account of it.

The Reader is desired to compare these Passages which prove the temporal as well as spiritual Inconveniencies of Ignorance among the Vulgar, with what is cited before from the *Essay* against Charity Schools; by which we doubt not it will appear true (what we promised to shew just now) that the Author of *the Fable* has been effectually demolished by his Friend the Author of *the Free-Thoughts*; which indeed is the less strange, as he has the Misfortune very often to fall foul even of himself.

After these Proofs of the Usefulness of Knowledge, who would expect to find so much of the *Essay* taken up in abusing the Clergy, for promoting these Seminaries of Knowledge; that Sort especially, the want of which, the Author of the *Free Thoughts* has so pathetically complained of? If the Clergy from a Consciousness that their Dominion over the Laity is built upon a weak and irrational Foundation, that their Pretensions to Power and the Guidance of them in spiritual Affairs, can only be maintained by Lay-Ignorance; if they,

^t P. 238. of the *Fable*, &c.

^u See the Index of the *Fable* for *Vanini*.

^w Ego sane vel minimus Ecclesiæ militantis Tyro, cum anno præterito Londini ad agonem Christianum destinatus essem, adeoque 49 diebus in Latomiis tanquam palæstra quadam exercerer, eo eram pro Catholicæ Ecclesiæ auctoritate defensanda effundendi Sanguinis desiderio accensus, & inflammatus, ut mihi a Deo immortalis vel majus donum aut melius contingere nullo modo potuisset. *Amph. Provid.* p. 117, 118.

thoroughly understanding their Interest, have always assisted the Growth of it with so much Application ^x (as their Enemies have always objected to them ;) in short; if Knowledge be the Bane of Priest-craft ^y, surely the Clergy's promoting an Institution calculated to spread the most useful and excellent Knowledge among the lower sort of People, putting their very Charter of Privileges into their Hands, and enabling them to read and understand it, and so discern through their Craft, and assert their own Liberty ; (if the other be true, the doing all this, I say) can hardly be thought to proceed from selfish or ambitious Purposes : Or if both must be true, the Clergy, of all others, seem to be irresistibly doomed to Censure in some Men's Opinions.

However, I can hardly think that the Clergy will express much Resentment on account of any thing said in this *Essay*; or that he need even be afraid that any *Rods* (as he elegantly expresses himself) will be laid in *Piss*, and the whole *Posse* of diminutive *Pedants* ^z rise against him; unless the *Rods* are used, as *diminutive Pedants* do indeed use them now and then very unjustly, to whip Qualities into Boys that Nature never designed them. *Resentment* is not what the Readers of *unquestionable good Sense* ^a will bestow upon this *Essay*. It may *divert* them, but it is impossible it should make them heartily *angry*.

I can't however take leave of this without telling him, that the Clergy ought not to be used so contemptibly as he has done throughout his whole Book. *The*

^x *Free Thoughts, &c.* p. 151.

^y *Ibid.* and p. 149. The Tricks and Stratagems of Clerick Invention—are Monsters of Stink and Darknefs, that grow sick at the Appearance of Light, and faint away at the Scent of Knowledge.

^z *Fable of the Bees*, p. 331. I see a thousand *Rods* in *Piss*, and the whole *Posse* of diminutive *Pedants* against me.

^a P. 467. It has diverted Persons of unquestionable good Sense.

Function of Divines deserves the highest Respect, and is in Dignity superior to all other Professions ^b.

The Author of the *Essay* has bestowed a great deal of good Satyr upon Footmen ^c. It is pity his Book is intended only for the *Entertainment of Men of Knowledge and Education* ^d; or else such of them as could read, might grow better by his Instructions. But then again, as some of them might be dull enough to mistake his Design; and look upon it as an Encouragement to Vice and Roguery, perhaps it is better upon the whole, the Book is so much *above their Sphere* ^e, that the Verse is allegorical, the *Prose philosophical* ^f, and the whole only proper for *elevated Minds* ^g. But how comes all this Severity upon Footmen to make a Part of his *Essay upon Charity Schools*? Is it owing to Charity Schools that Footmen are generally *Rogues*, that if they are honest, half of them are *Sots*, that others are quarrelsome and spoil their *Cloaths*; that those who are good-natured are generally *sad Whoremasters*, that are ever running after the *Wenches*, and spoil all the *Maid Servants* they come near ^h? If these are the Effects of Charity Schools, they will be thought very strong Objections against them by all——but those who think *private Vices publick Benefits*.

Besides this, he says, *the Education in Charity Schools occasions a Scarcity of Servants in general* ⁱ. He has complained already of the want of Labourers in Husbandry, and by and by he will complain of the Dearth of Labour in Trade ^k. And has this Searcher

^b Free Thoughts, p. 259, and 260.

^c P. 345, to 357. of the Fable, &c.

^d P. 467.

^e Ibid.

^f P. 469.

^g P. 257,

and 258.

^h P. 346.

ⁱ P. 346. The Scarcity of Servants occasioned by the Education, &c.

^k P. 359.

through every Degree and Station of Men¹ discovered at last, that all who are bred in Charity Schools immediately turn Gentlefolks, and can find means to subsist for a Constancy out of the Field, out of Shops, and out of Families? For if Charity Schools have occasioned a want of Husbandmen, a Dearness of Labour in Trade, and a Scarcity of Servants, what other possible means is there left for them to subsist by? What hidden Mysteries, what unknown Employments have the Children themselves, or the Managers of Charity Schools found out for them to apply to? And if there are none of these, by what Miracle are they preserved from Starving?

The Truth is, the Charity Schools in *London* are so far from occasioning either a Scarcity of Servants, or a Dearness of Labour arising from a Scarcity of working Hands in Trades (and Husbandry can't be affected by the *London* Schools one Way or other) that Charity Schools are become the Nurseries for those Employments. The Children are commonly taken from the most helpless Conditions of Life, from Idleness or Beggary, and raised to the superior Stations of common Servants and Workmen in mean and ordinary Trades. I don't represent these Employments as *mean* and *ordinary*, to avoid the Objection that they are put to more creditable Trades than they ought to be, being content to rest the Merits of it upon what has been said already (*viz.*) that the more profitable the Trades are, the better it will be for the Publick, *provided* they always keep in view that *principal* Point, of extending the Charity as wide as possible. The Nature of such an Education may now and then recommend them to a more advantageous Situation, than People of a much better Rank generally attain to. Thus for Instance, it

¹ P. 163. I have search'd thro' every Degree and Station of Men.

was usual for the *East-India* Company, long before these Charities were instituted, to take Boys from Hospitals, and send them abroad to be employed when they grew up as Writers, Factors, &c. Employments which, notwithstanding the great Choice our present Charity Schools would afford them, are now engrossed by People of much better Fashion.

That the taking Children from this forlorn and miserable Condition, to be employed in the higher Stations of Servants or Mechanicks, occasions no want of them in that Condition from whence they were taken, has been shewn already ⁿ, and need not be repeated here.

This Complaint of the Dearness of Labour gives the Author of the *Essay* a fresh Opportunity to shew his Judgment in Politicks. Foreigners can afford to sell the *Manufactures* of Goods made of our own Materials *cheaper than our selves*, though the *Hazard run* in procuring them, obliges them to pay very dear for them ^o; and this Inconvenience arises from the greater Price paid for the Labour in working them up here, than there. He says, *Every where in the Country the Farmer wants Hands, and all Trades and Handicrafts are overstocked* ^p. And can't this discerning Politician see that any Draughts from those now employed in Trades, to be employed in Husbandry, would raise the Price of Labour in those Trades, and consequently of the Goods so worked up, and by that means enable our Neighbours still more to undersell us in foreign Markets? But though the want of Labourers, the want of Servants, and the Dearness of Labour in Trade, make but a very indifferent Figure *together*, each of them *separately* will serve for a very good Objection

ⁿ P. 291, and 292.

^o P. 358.

^p P. 344, and 345.

against Charity Schools; and so indeed may any thing else that he pleases to offer.

The true Reason why Labour is dear in *England*, and other Countries are enabled to undersell us in foreign Markets, is owing to what *the Author of the Fable of the Bees* was afraid to charge it upon. Other Countries are content to live more *Frugally* than we; and it will be found, that not only this, but all his other Complaints against Charity Schools, are in a great Measure owing to LUXURY. The Dearness of Labour of all sorts, the Largeness of Wages and other Perquisites to Servants, their Idleness and Insolence, are all the Effects of Luxury; of which, as *Sir William Temple* observes, *though the Example arise among idle Persons, yet the Imitation is run into all Degrees, even of those Men, by whose Industry the Nation subsists.*

To this we owe the Scarcity of Servants where they are *really* wanted: And from hence arises that prodigious Loss to the Publick, that *Draught* of lusty and able-bodied Men from Husbandry or Country Business, to add to the Number and Magnificence of Equipages: *A sort of idle and rioting Vermin, by which (we are told) the Kingdom is almost devoured, and which are every where become a publick Nuisance.* Now the same Sagacity that helped any one to discover the *Nuisance*, should likewise, one would think, have pointed out the *Cause*. *Expence* in every Rank of Life is visibly increased, and pray Heaven! the national Stock may prove to be increased in Proportion. But it is to be feared there is a fatal Mistake in the common Estimation of our present Wealth. Either the Creditor of the Publick has no such *real* Property as he imagines, and lives up to; or the landed Man is greatly mistaken in thinking the whole of his Estate to be his own; I mean as to the *Inheritance*, as well as yearly Profit; and where

where the Mistake lyes, our Superiors *may* indeed determine as soon as they please, but a few Years *must* discover.

The Author seems apprehensive, that some Part of this Charge against Charity Schools will be imputed to Luxury ^a. He is in Pain for his favourite Vice, and therefore would fain have the Reader use it with Tenderness : He does not think it fair that any thing should *be scored on the Account of Luxury, that is downright the Effect of Folly* ^r. But this was leaving his Client in the Lurch, and deserting the Cause at a Time when it most wanted his Assistance. Proving any thing to be the Effect of *Folly*, won't acquit *Luxury* of the Charge, till *Luxury* is proved to be *Wisdom*; which how well he has succeeded in the Proof, has been seen already. To return to our Purpose.

Nothing can be a greater Proof of the Excellency of these Charities, than that so many Years Experience of them should not have furnished their Enemies (who appear to be great Dealers in Politicks) with better Reasons against them. How would a Patriot in former Days, who bewailed the Misfortune of his Country from the vast Number of People who were not only useless but burthensome to the Community; how would he have swelled with Indignation against those minute Politicians, who would overturn an Institution that enables all these to become serviceable Citizens? that removes them from Poverty and all the common Temptations to Roguery, and puts them in a Capacity to get an honest and a plentiful Maintenance? For it is most infallibly true, that the more Money private Men get, so much the richer is the Nation. *National*

Wealth is nothing but the whole of private Property put together.

As to that paltry Objection against them, that *the putting Children out to Trades is destructive to the Harmony of a Nation, and an impertinent intermeddling with what few of these Governors know any thing of*^f; The Reader must look upon it as a Proof of what was said just now, or a Pretence to cover some other Design in the Opposition to them. For the Schools themselves are chiefly supported by Contributions from *Tradesmen*, who, as it is reasonable to think, they are the best Judges where Hands in Trades are most wanted, so it is probable they have the greatest Share in their Management. But the latter part of the Charge will return with great Force and Justice upon himself and his Friends. For though we should allow them to have better Reasons for refusing their own Contributions and Endeavours to promote them, than it is feared most of them have, yet to *intermeddle with* and censure the Disposal of other Mens Charity, can't fail of being thought to a great Degree *impertinent*, as what they have nothing at all to do with, and, if we may judge by him, *know very little of*.

That Institutions of this kind may be render'd useful, not yet been denied by them; it is the Abuse and Mismanagement of them they have hitherto found fault with. Why then don't these publick spirited Gentry, *who burn with the noble Zeal and Desire after Immortality, and take such Care to improve their Country*^t, (why don't they) generously contribute to their Maintenance, and by that means get into the Management of them, and so turn the Balance from Trades to Husbandry, as well as cor-

rect all the other Abuses they complain of? He knows very well, that *when this Island shall be cultivated, and every Inch of it made habitable and useful, and the whole the most convenient and agreeable Spot upon Earth, all the Cost and Labour laid out upon it will be gloriously repaid by the Incense of those that shall come after us*^u. Such a noble Flight, such a Panegyrick upon Patriotism, you are not to doubt is the Result of his sincere Opinion. He who is so great an Enemy to *Priest-craft*, would never recommend a Conduct to others, that he did not care for practising himself^w. He will make it appear that such a publick Spirit or Self-denial is not only beneficial to the World, but highly reasonable in itself, and befitting the Character of a wise Man. *So silly a Creature is Man, as that, intoxicated with the Fumes of Vanity, he can feast on the Thoughts of the Praises that shall be paid his Memory in future Ages with so much Extasy, as to neglect, &c.*^x. And again, *To pay Honours to the Dead, will ever be a sure Method to make Bubbles of the Living*^y. And to say the Truth, this fear of being thought *Bubbles* to Fame and Reputation, like a Pannick, seems to have seized the whole Party, and to have influenced their publick Proceedings for many Years past. But what a special Writer this is to deal out Morality and Politicks to the World, and to instruct others how to lay out their Charity for the publick Good!

The same Question will be asked with Regard to every other Objection that has been urged against them. If for Instance it is said that a Disaffection to the Government is encouraged in Charity Schools, why don't these

^u P. 369.

^w P. 258. Let the Clergy preach Abstinence and Self-denial to others, and take what Liberty they please for themselves.

^x P. 237.

^y P. 233.

Objectors (if they have at the same time the Cause of Religion at Heart) erect other Charity Schools, (or by contributing to the present ones get into the Management of them) where Loyalty to the Government should be inculcated together with the Precepts of Religion? And can it be imagined that these with the Authority of the Government to back them, should not be more than a Balance against such pretended Nurseries of Disaffection? And may they not by the same Methods remedy all the other Inconveniencies, which in their Opinion the present Schools are liable to?

There never was an Institution better calculated to promote *Liberty* as well as Religion, and to disappoint the ambitious Views of those who would govern the Consciences of the Vulgar upon a Pretence that they want Abilities to know and believe for themselves. Those who mean well, and yet give into the common Clamour against these Schools, ought to suspect the Tendency of their own Opinions, and the Design other Men have in raising an Aversion to them, when they consider that this pompous *Essay* against the Usefulness of Charity Schools comes from an Author, whose *professed* Design is to shew the *Usefulness* of VICE and ROGUERY.

The Truth is, the Infidelity of the Age has not yet reached that Height, as to enable the professed Enemies to RELIGION to make any formidable Attempts against these Schools merely upon their own Strength. From this Sense of their Weakness they have taken Pains of late Years to draw in the warm Zealots amongst us to join in the same Endeavours, from a Notion of the great Disadvantage they threatened to their common Party; which however is declaring pretty plainly that Religion and Knowledge are the Enemies they ought to guard against. This Party Clamour they have promoted

moted with so little Decency, as to make *that* an Objection against Charity Schools; which Charity Schools in their own Nature are calculated to *prevent*, and which surely will be found to arise from a quite different Quarter. What but a blind Attachment to a Set of Opinions could suffer Men to ascribe a general *Dearness* of Labour to the Idleness of Charity Children, and overlook (not only the extraordinary Increase of idle Servants, which the growing Luxury of the Age has occasioned, but) that vast Body of Troops (which the Government has long been under an unhappy Necessity of keeping up) who in their several Employments at Home would do more useful Work in one Year, than all the Children in Charity Schools could have done from the Time of their Institution to this Day?

F I N I S.

ADVERTISEMENT to the READER.



MR. Bayle, and the Author of *the Fable of the Bees* after him, having quoted the Authority of one Mr. St. Didier for the Usefulness of the publick Stews of *Venice*, and not being able to meet with the Book till after these Papers were printed off, it won't be amiss to add some Extracts from thence concerning this religious *Establishment*: By which it will appear that Mr. Bayle (for the Author of *the Fable* is no more concerned in it, than a School-Boy who repeats amiss after his Master)

Master) had very little Reason to make *St. Disdier* vouch for a Story, which in the same Passage he makes a Jest of and ridicules the Policy it was grounded upon.

‘ Two hundred and fifty four Year ago (says *St. Disdier*^a) *Venice* being without Courtizans, the Republick was obliged to procure a great Number of foreign ones. *Dogliani*, who has writ the remarkable Affairs of *Venice*, extremely commends the Wisdom of the Republick in it, which by this Means knew how to provide for the Security of Women of Honour, who were every Day publicly attacked; the most holy Places not being a sufficient Asylum for their Chastity, ’ [So far seems to be a Quotation from *Dogliani*. He adds] ‘ Wherefore the Republick being no doubt of Opinion that the salt Air that People breathe in this Climate, makes the Disorder habitual and without Remedy, they thought it proper to provide for it, by appointing Habitations for these Courtizans, and establishing an Order among them, which should contribute to their common Maintenance.

‘ They entrusted the Conduct of these Ladies of Pleasure to an *honourable* Matron, who keeping the Box of all the Gain they made in the Profession, parcell’d out the Money to them monthly, giving to every one according to the Proportion of Business which her Merit procured her. This wise Conduct of theirs put the Courtizans upon so good a Foot, and multiplied them so plentifully, that the *Republick* need not fear *Venice* will ever be in want of them again. All the Streets and Canals are abundantly stocked with them. They commonly keep at their Windows and Balconies, with a great Quantity of

^a *La Ville & la Republique de Venise. Par. Mr. le Chevalier de St. Disdier. Quat. Edit. à la Haye. 1685.*

‘ Ribbons about their Heads, exposing all their Charms
 ‘ to draw in Customers. But if they have the Reputa-
 ‘ tion to be the handsomest [or best shaped] of any in
 ‘ *Italy*, they have likewise the Fame of bestowing some
 ‘ Favours so liberally; as to hinder People from forget-
 ‘ ting them very soon, *p.* 331, 332.

Again. Speaking of the Frequency of young Wo-
 mens being debauched, and seduced away from their
 Parents and Friends, to such a Degree, that at *Venice*
 you can’t but every Day hear of fresh Instances of such
 Violences, he says that ‘ Young Women who are not sa-
 ‘ tisfied with their Husbands, or who are given to De-
 ‘ bauchery, are very often carried off in this manner;
 ‘ and it is very difficult for their Fathers, Mothers, or
 ‘ Husbands to have any Redress, unless some Noble-
 ‘ man will interest himself in the Cause. *p.* 334. He ob-
 serves afterwards, that when these are once entered in
 the Profession, they seldom leave it. *p.* 339.

‘ As it is impossible this Libertinism should be con-
 ‘ fined to the *Venetian* Nobility alone, without passing
 ‘ by a sort of Contagion and necessary Consequence
 ‘ into all other Conditions; it comes to pass that Ci-
 ‘ tizens, Artificers and Strangers, have a full Liberty
 ‘ at *Venice* with Regard to their Pleasures; provided
 ‘ they don’t encroach upon the District which the *Ve-*
 ‘ *netian* Gentry think is particularly reserved to them-
 ‘ selves, and which if they ever do, they are in Danger
 ‘ of paying dear for. *p.* 335, and 336.

‘ As it can’t easily happen that so licentious a De-
 ‘ bauchery should content itself with one sort of Plea-
 ‘ sure; so it is easy to believe, what we are assured of,
 ‘ that the Courtizans are put to such infamous Uses,
 ‘ that, whatever their *natural* Charms may be, to en-
 ‘ gage by their extraordinary Lewdness the Inclinations
 ‘ of those who come thither, the Debauchery that is
 ‘ committed there cannot but give one Horror. *p.*
 ‘ 336, 337.

‘ In such a Disorder, and in so general a Corrupti-
 ‘ on, it is not to be wonder’d at, if that Distemper
 ‘ which is the usual Consequence of this Vice is so dis-
 ‘ fusely spread ; I don’t mean only among the Courti-
 ‘ zans, who are almost all destroyed by it, but among
 ‘ the married Women, of which I would less be thought
 ‘ to except Women of Fashion, than those of the or-
 ‘ dinary Sort. And the Reason is, that as not only
 ‘ the Youth, but also the married Men of Quality are
 ‘ almost all alike plunged in this Debauchery, they
 ‘ must also necessarily partake of the Pain which this
 ‘ Disorder produces : And since the one make no more
 ‘ scruple of communicating to their Wives what they
 ‘ get abroad , than the others of returning in the
 ‘ same Kind these Favours again, which they have re-
 ‘ ceived elsewhere, it comes to pass that the Infection
 ‘ is almost universal.

‘ One may easily think from what has been said, there
 ‘ is no Place in *Europe* where this Malady is more
 ‘ common : And I know it for a Truth, that Gentle-
 ‘ women lately married, and not being acquainted
 ‘ with these Disorders, and taking them for Indisposi-
 ‘ tions common to Women, are reduced to the most de-
 ‘ plorable Condition, without knowing what ails them,
 ‘ till the Increase of the Illness and the Nature of the
 ‘ Medicines, gives them the first Notice what their Dis-
 ‘ temper really is. *p.* 337, 338.

‘ As it is a most certain Truth, that without a parti-
 ‘ cular Assistance from Heaven, the Vices of Youth
 ‘ follow a Man to his Grave, so we must not be sur-
 ‘ priz’d if the most hoary Heads among the *Vene-*
 ‘ *tian* Nobility retain their juvenile Habits. They
 ‘ are so far from being cautious in this Respect, and
 ‘ conceal their Practices so little, that Husbands don’t
 ‘ at all scruple to leave Word at Home that they are
 ‘ gone to dine with their Whore, and their very Wives
 ‘ send

‘ send thither to them whatever they are pleased to order; where I would have People guess, rather than commit to Paper my self, what scandalous and extravagant Artifices these old Fellows sometimes use to excite again in them these Inclinations which their natural Weakness at that Age deprives them of, in spite of all they can do to revive them. p. 338, 339.

‘ The Condition of a Courtezan is of so little Prejudice to the Honour of those who only prostitute themselves to a single Person, that upon her retiring or marrying, she may live for the future without any Reproach. From the Hopes of this many a young Woman gives Way to her Inclinations. But it is seldom that they do indeed retire from this Way of Life. The Debauchery, and Freedom from the Restraint their Parents lay them under (which they greatly esteem) are very strong Engagements, and keep them close to that Profession, which we actually see honoured by the Daughters of noble Families. p. 339. *He had said before that* ‘ the Quality of a Courtezan was so far from being dishonoured by her Profession in the Opinion of the People, that it rather added to her Dignity, and procured her Respect in Proportion to the Quality of her Gallants. p. 331.

Again. Speaking of the grand Masquerades at the latter end of the Carnival at Venice, he says, ‘ Women of Fashion who have Gallants, find in this Season a thousand Ways to deceive their Husbands and Overseers; for there is no Place where you may not introduce your self by the help of Masques. In so much, that the *Carnaval* is the true Harvest of Love-Affairs, where they gather the Fruits of all the Intrigues that have been laid in a less favourable Season, where they settle new Correspondences with Ladies the most carefully observed, and concert Measures for their future Entertainment. p. 342.

I thought it would not be disagreeable to the Reader to receive this Account from an Author, who has been represented himself as an Advocate for publick Stews^b. These Passages will confirm the Truth of several things mentioned in the foregoing Pages, by shewing *in fact* the deplorable Condition to which this licensed Wickedness has reduced the Morals of the People in *Italy*. For that it is not confined to *Venice* alone, the same Author told us at the beginning of the Chapter. ‘ Those (says he) who are as well acquainted with *Rome* as *Venice*, are at a Loss to decide in which of the two Cities there is the greatest Number of publick Whores, and the greatest Libertinism.’ The Reader will judge from hence of the Truth of that Suggestion in Mr. Bayle. ‘ It is well known the Reason why they’ (so many good Politicians as these, says his Follower, as *an humble Improvement upon him*) ‘ tolerate lewd Houses, is to prevent a worse Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the Safety of Women of Honour.’ Though he could not but know *St. Didier* had given very different, and much more probable Reasons for this infamous Policy (*viz.*) the alluring Strangers to come and spend their Money among them, and the Consideration, that a People bred up in Effeminacy and Debauchery, seldom trouble their Heads about State Affairs, or attempt any Change in the Government. *vid. p. 338.*

^b Such a relation as Mr. *de St. Didier*’s were useful to convince the World in this Point. Mr. Bayle’s Pens. Diver. Sect. 165.



